

GREAT COINS AND MEDALS



83

TEXT BY
JEAN
BABELON

WITH 167 PHOTOGRAPHS BY J. ROU



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167 photographs by J. Roubier

Text by Jean Babelon



Thames and Hudson · London

Translated from the french by Stuart Hood

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Blocks Produced by Klischeeanstalt Rasteiger Graz
Printed by Christoph Reisser's Söhne Vienna

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The history of numismatics—if we interpret the term in its widest sense and make no distinction between coins and medals—presents us with such an abundance of material that we can trace its course from remote antiquity to the present day in an unbroken line. Like entomologists we can study the phenomenon from its earliest stages and watch, as it were, the astonishing way in which it develops through successive and sometimes dazzling forms until it becomes an imago. It follows that in a book such as this an apology is due for the fact that it can deal with only a limited number of examples which have had to be selected in a somewhat arbitrary manner.

It is not the intention of this work to concentrate on the economic or social origins of money—that is to say of minted coins—yet a historian of the plastic arts cannot but be struck by the rapid development of what was originally a crude mark stamped by some banker or rich despot on a piece of metal in order to further trade or finance a war.

It was in Lydia in Asia Minor—so Herodotus tells us—that the process began, at some point in the 7th century B.C., with a small ingot of electrum, that amber-coloured metal which is a natural alloy of gold and silver that was collected from rivers like the Hermus or Pactolus on animal skins; a legendary memory of this process is the Golden Fleece of the Argonauts. What interests us at this stage is the appearance of a definite, intelligible type which replaces the primitive, non-representational mark. Thus there is a vast range of animal figures, of which the tortoise of Aegina was for long one of the most perfect examples; there are heads of lions arranged in an Oriental pattern; there are decorative motifs in which a newly awakened imagination finds free expression—such as the bull and the lion which face each other on the gold and silver shekels produced by the fabulous wealth of Croesus of Lydia in the 7th century B.C.

The outstanding fact is the evocation of a human being—of a face whose crude features are derived from an artificially interpreted reality. When he invokes the gods—for religion or magic are present from the beginning in the modes of primitive thought—man turns to his own image, which he transforms in order to impart to it a power surpassing his own. We find an example in the head of Melkhart, the singularly brutal Semitic Hercules with his protruding eyes, the lion's skin over his head and his curled beard, who figures on an electrum coin struck in Ionia in the 7th century B.C.

It is not long before this crudeness becomes refined. Thus in the centre of a discus we find the youthful face of an athlete drawn with a sort of naive skill. This time the beauty is ideal. One of the first human figures is the astonishing warrior's head on a silver coin from Calymne (7th century B.C.) with the face tightly framed by helmet, visor and cheek-pieces.

The first named likeness goes back to the Homeric age. It is that of the hero Protesilaus, the first of the Greeks to set foot on the beaches of Troy, who is depicted, wearing a helmet, on a 6th-century tetradrachm

from Scione. From this point gods and men are inextricably confused; the Olympian deities assume the appearance of their worshippers and the mortals aspire to the deep-seated serenity of the divine. It is Aphrodite whom we see on a coin from Cnidus in Caria. Zeus, Hera and the lords of heaven are constantly invoked along with minor deities, heroes, and eponymous nymphs, who become at once the supernatural guarantors of the coinage and the incarnation of the city. The Dionysus on the tetradrachms struck in 480 at Naxos in Sicily is a masterpiece of design; the reverse—a crouching Silenus—is evidence of the supreme skill of the engravers. To the same date belongs the no less admirable Silenus of Catania, which we know from a single specimen (pl. 2). Round about 380, at Clazomenae in Ionia, Apollo appears with his radiant face and floating locks (pl. 11), which were to serve as model for the coin-makers of Rhodes in Caria and for the tetradrachms struck by King Mausolus in the middle of the 4th century B.C. On the other hand, the terror inspired by nature's continual threats and her sudden and mysterious attacks gave rise to the mask of a terrifying Gorgon with staring eyes and tongue protruding between rows of sharp teeth—a mask to avert ill omens. It was a type which lasted right down from the coins of Eretria in Euboea in the 6th century to those of Etruria which date from a relatively late period—the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. (pl. 14).

What direct link was there between these images and the realities of daily experience? Two great cities will provide us with the answer.

First of all, there is Athens celebrating her patron, the tutelary goddess accompanied by the owl which nests on the Acropolis—Athene Glaukopis, helmeted and armed, mistress of all knowledge and all power, who is crudely sketched from the middle of the 6th century onwards (pl. 1). Her eyes look straight ahead, and her lips are thick. She is impassive and distant—a majestic figure who forbids any familiar approach. And yet the story of Pisistratos, who on his return from exile in 540 brought with him a beautiful girl—Phtia the Paeonian—perched on a chariot as an incarnation of the tutelary Parthenos, shows that the most spiritual people in the world did not hesitate to clothe their unapproachable goddess with the attributes of flesh and blood. However, the laurels gained at Marathon or Salamis did not make the goddess any more approachable and we never find on her lips the smile of the *kōres* of the Acropolis. The famous decadrachm celebrating the victory over Persia (c. 480 B.C.) shows her with a hieratic face set in an expression of complete indifference.

From Syracuse, in Magna Graecia, there comes, first, a timid attempt at a head of Arethusa on the reverse of the agonistic type of the chariot race, dating from the end of the 6th century; then we have a splendid decadrachm, struck in 480, to celebrate the victory over the Carthaginians at Himera. The name of Queen Demarete, wife of Gelon, is linked with the pleasant portrait of a female ruler who was, we are told, merciful to the prisoners (pl. 3). The ethnic characteristics are clearly distinguishable and this laurel-crowned effigy with its aquiline nose and fleshy lips has been claimed as one of the earliest portraits. To the engraver who traced it we owe too the head of Apollo on the fine tetradrachm from Leontini, which is of the same date (pl. 4).

The tetradrachms which continued to be coined in Syracuse during the 5th century and which bear the chariot race on their reverse all conform to the traditional design of a nymph's head surrounded by four

dolphins—a reference to that spring on the island of Ortygia where Arethusa took refuge when she was pursued by the river Alpheus. We can trace a whole series of them—not only in the varying coiffures—the way the floating hair is sometimes caught in an embroidered bag or net embroidered with pearls, sometimes allowed to float in the breeze, according to the whims of fashion which are as innumerable, says the poet, as the bees on Mount Hymettus—but in the individual character of the girls. These beauties have, in fact, only a vague air of resemblance in common and we have every justification in discovering in their faces a constant reference to an actual model who is no less alive for being anonymous (pls. 5, 6).

This artistic outburst culminated in the magnificent decadrachms signed by Euainetos or Cimon, which can only be described as commemorative medals (pl. 7). The splendour of their heavy metal is an eternal reminder of the defeat of the Athenians on the banks of the Assinarus in 413 and bears witness to the richness of the booty. At the same time they commemorate the games founded to celebrate this great victory, which has—as its reverse aspect—the imprisonment of the Athenian prisoners in the quarries of Achradina, the first concentration camp.

It is not, therefore, too bold a hypothesis to state that from this moment the portrait, considered as the reproduction of individual human features, made its appearance in numismatic art, which shortly became a dominant art springing from the desire to display to the people—to the business man, the soldier, the fishwife and the vegetable woman in the market—the image of the despot, who governed their destiny and authorised the circulation of the coin, in all his power.

At first it was a symbolical likeness—like that of the Great King engraved on the darics from 515 onwards. During the wars with the Medes, Darius and Xerxes, in order to finance their projected conquest of Greece, issued gold and silver shekels bearing their likeness in the uniform of the Guard—the ten thousand archers whom we can see marching past on the famous ceramic frieze from Susa. Xenophon tells that during the famous retreat which he commanded a gold daric was a mercenary's pay for a month.

But soon the custom was extended. Soon it is the portraits of the satraps, who had received or usurped the right to coin money, which we find on the gold or silver staters of the vassals and rivals of the Great King. First there were the kings of Lydia—Chreïs (c. 425–410 B.C.), identified by his name beneath a rather crude likeness, then Artembares, Deveneles and the satraps of Cyprus, Mallos and Pergamum. The subtle policy of Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, who negotiated with Alcibiades at the end of the 4th century, is very significantly illustrated in the fine coins which bear their portraits. The political importance of this fact must be stressed; Themistocles, who also became a satrap of the Great King at Magnesia in 465, had not dared to do more than engrave his name on his silver staters. In the case of the satraps we can admire their likenesses, which are of a fine Iranian cast with pure profiles ending in carefully tended beards, and upon their heads the *bachlik*—the royal bonnet with ear-pieces. One of the finest examples, which has come down to us is a gold stater of Orontes, satrap of Lampsacus, struck in about 360 (pl. 12). An exceptionally well preserved example is to be found in the *Cabinet des médailles* in Paris.

The first identifiable portrait of an ordinary citizen is that of Pythagoras, on a tetradrachm struck some time before 432. The head of an old man with a beard on an electron stater from Cyzicus, the great port

on the Bosphorus whose coinage is so curiously varied, is undoubtedly the portrait of Timotheus, the son of Conon, the Athenian admiral who won the battle of Cnidus in 395.

Darics and double darics of pure gold continued to be struck in many workshops in Persia up to the defeat of Darius by Alexander the Great in 330. Then a new chapter of world history begins. The coins of the times bear witness to the fact. One of the first and most important political measures of the Macedonian conqueror after his victories at Tyre and Babylon was the creation of a coinage which was intended to be universal—gold staters which copy those of Philip and were imitated throughout the known world, but above all silver tetradrachms stamped with the youthful head of Hercules, the ancestor of the dynasty, clad in a lion skin, and the figure of Olympic Zeus seated on a throne. These coins were struck during Alexander's short reign and long after his death were produced by such workshops as Pella and Amphipolis in Macedonia, Lampsacus, Sardis, Miletus, Tarsus, Myriandra, Damascus, Salamis, Citium, Paphos, Sidon, Ake, Aradus, Byblos, Babylon—where in 330 Alexander took the title of *basileus*—and finally, after 330, in Alexandria.

The question arises whether numismatics furnish us with authentic portraits of Alexander. Are we justified in comparing these tetradrachms with those few pieces of sculpture, like the Azara bust, which bear the name of the hero? There are good reasons for a negative answer. One of the strongest is that the Hercules design pre-dates Alexander. But we cannot exclude the possibility that the conventional type of the demi-god was gradually replaced; thus we can see that the likeness of Alexander's father, Philip, crept in as a sort of counterpoint to the impassive image of Zeus. The proof is that it is undoubtedly the king on horseback, wearing the Macedonian *causia* with the national chlamys floating on his shoulders, which figures on the reverse of the tetradrachms. In any case, we are assured that the portrait of Alexander as Jupiter Ammon, with the ram's horns, has come down to us on the fine staters and tetradrachms struck by Lysimachus, king of Thrace, between 323 and 281 (pl. 15).

The date of Alexander's death in 323 is the starting point for a number of remarkable iconographic series. The Diadochi, who divided the vacant empire between them, attached great importance to impressing faithful portraits of themselves and of their physical appearance on the imagination of their subjects, and that with an unflinching realism which excluded any idealisation. This is a new factor which reveals a complete change in the psychology both of the subject peoples and of the despots who governed them. This was the policy adopted notably by the Seleucids, the kings of Syria, who struck money in a large number of workshops scattered through the territory over which they had established their dominion. First, there are the gold staters of Seleucus I of Lysippian type, then the tetradrachm of the helmeted king. This tetradrachm became so famous that we find it imitated in the most distant countries, including India. Antiochus I (pl. 21) began by striking coins of the Alexandrine type and followed them with a portrait of Seleucus wearing a crown. It has been claimed that on succeeding coins we can detect clues to the king's origins—the traces of Asiatic blood which he owed to his mother, Apamea the Bactrian. Then, mention must be made of the portraits of Antiochus II, of Queen Laodice, of Seleucus II and his brother Hierax, who was his enemy, of Antiochus III, called the Great, who was hailed as a new Alexander before he was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia in 190. Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who sacked the temple of

Jerusalem, is one of the most dazzling of the Seleucids. There is no lack of portraits of children in the series—young Antiochus V, Demetrius II, Antiochus VI, son of Alexander Balas. Under Alexander Zebina there are signs of a less vigorous art in the sketchy modelling of the coins. Those effigies at first demonstrated the physical and mental energy of the Macedonian generals who had conquered the world with their chief in order to carve it up for their profit. As the dynasty waned and became degenerate their powers were enfeebled. The last of the Seleucids, Antiochus IX, Antiochus X, Antiochus XI, Demetrius III, Philip, Antiochus XII, Antiochus XIII, are known to us only from mediocre portraits which succeed each other until the conquest of Syria by the Romans and the triumph of Pompey in 64 B.C.

The coins of the Ptolemies, the kings of Egypt, form an even more splendid collection than those of the Seleucids. After the battle of Ipsus the portrait of Ptolemy I Soter appears. His image, which is of remarkable crudeness, was reproduced in greatly distorted versions until the extinction of his line. Ptolemy II Philadelphus was dominated by his sister, Arsinoë, whom he married when she became the widow of Lysimachus, king of Thrace. It was then that in Egypt they began to strike heavy silver coins—decadrachms which at first bore veiled portrait of the strong-minded queen (pl. 22). In the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–222 B.C., pl. 23) there appear the gold octodrachms which display for all to admire the linked likenesses of Ptolemy I Soter and Queen Berenice, and Ptolemy II and Arsinoë. Berenice of Cyrene who, for her resplendent hair, was placed among the stars as ‘Coma Berenices’ by the poets Calimachus and Theocritus, offers us her delicate profile on gold octodrachms. Some of these female portraits, such as that of Arsinoë Philopator, can be compared in their purity of line only to a few Roman portraits or to those of Renaissance Florence (pl. 24).

The descendants of the Ptolemies degenerated under the influence of a climate which they found enervating. Thus we have Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–204 B.C.)—too fleshy, with ringlets and florid moustaches. The fattest of the Ptolemies is Ptolemy VII Euergetes II, whose embonpoint provoked the sarcasm of the Romans. Finally, we must mention the bronze coins struck in Alexandria with the portrait of Cleopatra, which is another iconographic illustration to one of the most astonishing episodes of ancient history. Sometimes, when in a particular series we feel the talent of the engravers diminishing with the authority of the sovereigns who employed them, a portrait such as that of Ptolemy IV reveals under the magnifying glass a skill in modelling and a happy gift for catching an expression which can only astonish any archaeologist or art historian who has bent over these tiny works of art.

The engravers employed by the Hellenistic kings followed in their footsteps. From about 278 the Nicomedes in Bythnia produced a series of rather feeble portraits; in Cappadocia, the Ariarathes the outstanding tetradrachm of the usurper Orophernes (158 B.C.) who has an almost Roman air of determination. The presence at Pergamum of the eunuch Philetaerus, who seized power in 283, gave rise to an artistic movement to which we owe the admirable portrait of this singular person who also had tetradrachms struck in the name of Seleucus I of Syria (pl. 25).

The impulse given by Alexandrine art was far-reaching both in time and space. Thus there are the fine coins of the condottiere Demetrius Poliorcetes dated 292 (pls. 17, 18), which are followed by those of the last kings of Macedonia. Philip V and Perseus (pls. 26, 27) had in their service excellent Greek engravers

—the name of one, Zoilus (174 B.C.), has come down to us—and annexed the attributes of the legendary hero, Perseus, at the very moment of their decisive defeats at Cynoscephalae in 197 and at Pydna in 168, when the Roman, Paulus Emilius, overcame their last resistance.

The rulers of Sicily—Agathocles (318–289 B.C.), Hicetas (287–278 B.C.), Hiero II (pl. 19) and Queen Philistis (275–216 B.C.)—attracted good portraitists to their court as did Areus, Cleomenes III (228 B.C., pl. 28) or Nabis (207 B.C.), who reigned in Sparta; but the style of the coins tends to become sterile and to diminish in scope.

In Pontus we find a portrait of Mithridate IV dated 169, which is of astonishing vitality with its lined face, cunning expression and narrow forehead adorned with the royal fillet. On another coin we find a rare example of two linked portraits—those of Mithridates IV and Queen Laodice. The various images of Mithridates VI Eupator (121–63 B.C.), the implacable enemy of the Romans, are entirely different; he strove to model his visage on that of Alexander the Great and to give to his features a sublime look. They have about them a feeling which, even at this early date, can only be called romantic (pl. 30).

Tigranes, king of Armenia from c. 95–55 B.C., also employed Greek engravers but he made them conform to the model of an Oriental monarch adorned with a heavily jewelled tiara (pl. 34). The Parthian line of the Arsacids—Arsaces, Phraates, Artabanus and Orodes, who defeated Crassus at Carrhae in 53 B.C.—produced in their coinage an amalgum of Iranian tradition and Greek taste. The portrait of Mithridates II the Great (c. 124–88 B.C.) is a good example with his delicate bearded profile and his ritual dress—the embroidered robes which contrast with the simplicity of the royal fillet, later replaced by the high cylindrical tiara (pl. 33). Our investigations could take us on into Persia with the Bagadates, into Elymiade with the Camnascires and Queen Anzaze, and on into Characene on the shores of the Persian Gulf with the dynasty of Attambelus.

Following the conquests of Alexander, Hellenism spread to the frontiers of India with the Greek dynasties which settled in Bactria after the revolt of Diodotus against Seleucus. The iconographic series of Euthydemus (215 B.C., pl. 31) of the Eucratides (c. 175 B.C., pl. 32) constitute a gallery of portraits in which masterpieces abound. This series is dominated by the enormous coin worth twenty staters of which the only example is preserved in the *Cabinet des médailles* of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and which was struck by Eucratides to commemorate his triumph over Demetrius. One of the most remarkable of these pieces is the tetradrachm of Antimachus, c. 185. It is rarely that a feeling for the picturesque is allied to such psychological penetration. Such portraits have justly been compared to those of the artists of the Italian Renaissance. In the Punjab one type of coin demands our attention—that of the Sophytes who imitated the effigies of the Seleucids.

The last waves of Hellenism reached as far as Afghanistan and Gandhara in the 2nd century B.C.; under Antalcides, Strato, Hermaenus, Meander, Manes and Azilises, the tradition of the Diadochoi struggled against the Oriental influences which won the day with the Indo-Scythian kings, the Kushans—Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva—whose coinage is invaded by Hindu decorative art.

In Africa the coins struck in Numidia by Masinisa and Micipsa and then by Jugurtha, Heimsal and Juba I, by Scypha (c. 213 B.C.) and by Vermina, and lastly by Bocchus in Mauretania in the 1st century B.C., are not uninfluenced by the last dying impulses of Hellenic art.

When we come to discuss the Roman coins of the Republican era we feel that we have entered completely different territory from that which we have just covered.

Yet if we go back to their origins—to the end of the 4th century B.C.—and are faced with the discs of cast bronze which were the primitive means of exchange, or, later, with the heavy cast coins bearing images of Jupiter Bifrons, of Minerva, Hercules, Mercury or Bellona, to distinguish the different divisions of the *as*, and on the reverse the uniform design of a ship's bows, we can see the penetration of Hellenic influence caused by Rome's contact with the cities of Magna Graecia. The same holds good of the silver coins (c. 279 B.C.) with the legend ROMANO or ROMA which bear as effigy the head of the young Hercules and, on the reverse, the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.

The minting of the denarius, which began—according to Pliny—in 269, but should, if we accept recent research, be placed much later, in 187 B.C., the minting of the quadrigati with the head of Janus and the quadriga, of the victoriati, struck during the wars in the Adriatic, and, finally, of the gold coins issued during the time of Hannibal (217–212 B.C.), produced scarcely one characteristic which can be attributed to a strictly Roman aesthetic. One of the figures on the coins struck outside Rome—they bear the head of Janus and two soldiers sacrificing a pig—is draped in the Greek chlamys. The denarii of the Social War, bearing a sacrificial scene or a bull fighting with the she-wolf, demonstrate by their modelling that their engravers had before their eyes models derived from Hellenistic art.

The situation is very different when we come to the Republican denarii. Here it seems that the basic Latin or Italic element becomes superimposed on an ancient Etruscan foundation and gives birth to an art with sharply defined characteristics in which realistic and essentially illusionist portraiture predominates. The commemoration or celebration of anniversaries and references to ancestral exploits caused portraits to proliferate. It was the aim of the magistrates who assumed responsibility for issuing the coinage to recall the memories of their illustrious families; these memories they found in their own dwellings—in the chests where the waxen images of the dead, the masks modelled from their faces, were piously preserved. Hence the frequently cadaverous aspect of the portraits engraved on the denarii and their infallible accuracy—an accuracy enhanced by that uncompromising economy of style of which the Etruscans had made a virtue. We should also mention here the *imagines clypeatae*—the silver or bronze medallions which were exposed in the temples under the Republic or in the atrium of the houses.

For long only the image of a god was tolerated on Roman coinage. The first exception to this tradition dates from 108 B.C. when the moneyer C. Blasio dared to have engraved on a denarius a smooth, ascetic mask with prominent cheekbones which some people unconvincingly claim to be a portrait of Scipio Africanus, who had died a century earlier. In the same period, L. Philippus recalled on his denarii the

face of Philip V of Macedon, who had been defeated at Cynoscephalae. Then we find the reconstructed portraits of Numa Pompilius, king of Rome, of Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines, of Ancus Marcius and Brutus the Elder, of the first consuls, of the tribune Servius Sulpicius Rufus, of the vestal Aemilia Lepida, of the consul C. Coelius Caldus (pl. 36). About 63–2 B. C. Faustus Cornelius Sulla presents what is said to be the portrait of Jugurtha—the bust of a young man, with a laurel wreath on his head and short moustaches—but is more probably Hercules (pl. 35); Numonius Vaala (c. 43 B. C.) used the portrait of his ancestor of the same name. In 38 B. C. come Sextus Pompeius, Gnaeus Pompeius and his son; round about 46 B. C. we find Pompey the Great on the coins of M. Minatius Sabinus; and about 42 B. C. the praetor Regulus on the denarii of L. Regulus. Brutus, the murderer of Caesar, with his beard and unruly hair (pl. 37), forms a striking contrast to Sextus Pompeius with his close crop and beard sketched in with short strokes. One of the portraits most notable for its specifically Roman qualities is that of Marcellus, the conqueror of Sicily in 212 B. C., with his bare head, his hairless, lined, bony face, which looks as if it had somehow been flayed—the product of Stoic aridity.

One of the rare heads with some expression from a series in which impassiveness seems to be *de rigueur* is that of a haggard Gaul with hollow cheeks and scant, straight hair; this is believed by some to be the dramatic portrait of the captive Vercingetorix (pl. 39). It was chosen as a design by L. Hostilius Saserna about 48 B. C. The portrait of Sulla, with his golden hair, his piercing glance, pale eyes and ruddy skin, strewn with livid patches, as Plutarch describes him, appears on a denarius struck by Pompeius Rufus about 57 B. C., and his equestrian statue on an aureus of A. Mentius, struck in the Orient.

Generally the person represented is stripped of any insignia which might indicate his high office—it is the man and not the magistrate or the eminent soldier who is placed before us. There is for instance the very characteristic portrait of the tribune Antius on the denarii of C. Antius Restio (c. 46 B. C.). There is no attempt to hide the ugliness of the sitter; the engraver who reproduced that long face with its two deep wrinkles, its thin neck and cropped hair, had certainly a very real model before his eyes to prevent his engraving tool from straying into fantasy.

Not until 44 B. C. did the Senate allow a living man to be represented on coins. Julius Caesar should have been the first to benefit, with strict Republican rule making way for the Oriental concept of sovereign power. In actual fact, the daggers of Casca and Brutus prevented him from enjoying to the full the extraordinary privilege which had been conferred on him. His head appears only on coins dating from immediately after his assassination on the Ides of March, 44 B. C. (pl. 38). There are the denarii of P. Sepullius Macer on which we find him portrayed with a small head garlanded with laurels, a very long neck and an angular profile, at once wrinkled and bony. On those of L. Aemilius Buca, the head is larger, again laurel-wreathed, and set on a wiry neck; the wrinkles are drawn in under the cheek-bones with a bold stroke of the engraving tool. Finally we find his portrait on the denarii of M. Mettius and of C. Cossutius Maridianus. Caesar's example was quickly followed by his murderers, Brutus (pl. 37) and Cassius, who, before their defeat at Philippi in 42 B. C. by Octavius and Antony, struck money in the East bearing their effigy. We should note here that the first portrait of a Roman magistrate had appeared long before, in 196 B. C., on a gold stater bearing the effigy of T. Quinctius Flaminius, the 'liberator of

Greece'; but this is not, strictly speaking, a fully Roman coin. This curious piece, which is unique of its kind, was struck by the consul in Greece on the model of those issued by the leaders of the Hellenistic armies.

At the beginning of the Principate portraits on the coinage multiply. The triumvirs appear on the gold coins of L. Mussidius, which date from 39 B.C. Lepidus has an unimposing air and Antony is smug. On the other hand, there is a vast difference between the mediocre effigy of Octavius and his bust from Ostia, now preserved in the Vatican. We find Octavius, who had now achieved supreme power, on the gold coins of Livineus Vitulus (39 B.C.), of Vivius Varus (38 B.C.) and of Q. Voconius Vitulus (37 B.C.) and of T. Sempronius Gracchus (37 B.C.); but these are somewhat feeble psychological documents. It is only towards 36 B.C. that his portrait becomes refined and loses its banality, assuming an air of grandeur.

Little need be said of the aureus of Labienus, which commemorates the Parthian war (40 B.C.). On the other hand the portrait of Domitius Ahenobarbus is powerfully modelled. The crabbed profile of Antony tells us almost nothing of this able and adventurous politician—the despot who thought of himself as Caesar's heir (pl. 40). The effigies of Cleopatra which accompany him make the allure of one of the most extraordinary women in history a complete mystery (pl. 41). Admittedly we can compare with these Roman pieces the coins she had struck in Alexandria, the tetradrachms and denarii issued in Antioch, the silver coins of Ascalon, the bronze issues of Berytus, Damascus and Patras, in which we can at least see some glimpse of her fascination.

The second wave of influence exercised by Hellenistic art on Roman numismatics can be dated to the middle of the 1st century B.C. These waves continued to recur with a constant ebb and flow up to the end of the Empire. Although we can find traces of aridity in the monetary portraits of Augustus, the aureus bearing the one word CAESAR is instinct with a regal air which lends its charm to the delicacy of his profile, to the grace of his hair and the dignity of his expression (pl. 42). This magnificent piece can be set beside the magnificent sestertius on which Augustus is shown being crowned by Victory; both can be compared with the statue of Prima Porta. Even after Actium the Greek influence remained predominant and here we can feel the tug of two opposing tendencies—on the one hand the opulence of the East and the prestige of the Diadochi and, on the other, the ascetic accuracy which reigned in Italy.

Augustus's sister, the virtuous Octavia, who was the unfortunate wife of Antony, appears on an aureus as well as on the cistophori struck in the East; they can be compared with the fine cameo in the *Cabinet des médailles*, where the purity of the delicately drawn profile bears witness to the family resemblance between brother and sister. But in the series of female portraits, which now become very numerous, Fulvia, Antony's authoritarian wife, had already stolen a march on Octavia—admittedly by a subterfuge, for she had lent her features to the effigy of Victory on a gold coin. In the same way, during the reign of Augustus, Livia, with her simply waved hair and calm features, concealed herself modestly behind the official images of Justitia, Salus and Pietas. So too, before her banishment, Augustus's daughter Julia assumed the guise of Diana whom she emulated so little.

Then came the portraits of the Julio-Claudian dynasty—Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius and Nero, who departs from the affected severity which had been the rule under the first emperors and simulates a plump

bonhomie that conceals from us the true face of the actor he delighted to be (pls. 43–45). Galba, the dried leathery old man, Vitellius, the sensual debauchee, Otho, the coxcomb in his wig (pl. 46), are all clearly defined for us like actors in the drama which was to usher in the age of the Flavian emperors. There is no attempt to conceal the roughness of Vespasian, the rude soldier who had grown up under arms; on the contrary, it is stressed in the muscular tension of his beetling profile. From now on we can detect a certain mobility in the physiognomy which catches the domineering faces of Titus (pl. 47) and Domitian for a second in the flux of time. Some haughty female figures accompany them; this time their names are recorded—Domitilla and Julia, daughter of Titus, with her high, complicated bee-hive of a coiffure (pl. 48) by which she is distinguished again on the famous aquamarine in the *Cabinet des médailles*.

The portraits of Nerva mark a return to Augustan art. With Trajan, the *optimus princeps*, we enter on a new phase. As a piece of iconography it is in the first rank with one of the most Roman of profiles in which perfect dignity is assured by clean draughtsmanship and modelling (pl. 49). He is escorted by ladies of the Imperial family such as Plotina, Marciana and Matidia, who maintain their rank with dignity and owe to their expert hairdressers a coiffure which compels our admiration (pls. 50, 51).

Hellenism returned to favour during the reign of Hadrian, that much travelled and scholarly emperor (pl. 52). Alongside his successive portraits, in which he appears as soldier—although his face is shaded by a hitherto unusual philosopher's beard—we can place those of his favourite, Antinous, in which a very ambiguous Oriental charm is displayed. The Empress Sabina also acquired the right to appear in effigy in A. D. 128 (pl. 55). Antoninus Pius is the emperor of the *pax Romana* and his grave, noble face accords with the place assigned to him among the good emperors (pl. 53). He is accompanied by his wife, Faustina the Elder. The portraits of Marcus Aurelius allow us to understand the spirit which dictated the conduct of this philosopher-king, who was yet sufficiently sceptical to bear the burden of power (pl. 54). By comparing them with those of Lucius Verus, which are so disturbing in their subtlety, we find the best possible illustration to the *Meditations*. Faustina the Younger is endowed with a youthful air and a candour which is not perhaps entirely fictitious. Commodus exposes himself to the eyes of the multitude in the guise of Hercules and—with an Olympian grace which hardly suits the fatuous emperor of the circus—demands to be worshipped in the Eastern fashion.

A new age begins with the accession of Septimius Severus—the first of the military usurpers (A. D. 193–211, pl. 56). With this half-Syrian, half-African general, bearded like Serapis, strict realism sets in at the expense of richness of modelling. With Caracalla, this somewhat acrid dignity becomes an affectation of ferocity (pl. 58). The portraits of these warriors are accompanied by those of such intrepid women as Julia Domna, Julia Maesa, Julia Soemias, Julia Mamaea and Plautilla (pl. 60), who took it upon themselves to maintain the Empire when it was crumbling away in the hands of Caracalla or Elagabalus. It is a matter for astonishment how boldly the engravers reproduced on their coins, without thought for elegance or beauty, the old woman's face of Julia Maesa, the domineering grandmother of the madman who wore the Imperial crown. The style changes completely with the portraits of Alexander Severus, which are delicately modelled and well designed (pl. 57). Under the emperors who successively seized power at the head of their legions and whom we shall not list, only one tendency emerged and that was to the detriment of an art which was

becoming more and more linear and schematic; it was the urgent need to stamp on the minds of the troops clamouring for their pay the image of what was very often an ephemeral ruler (pls. 62, 63). Typical examples are Philip the Arab, the Bedouin son of a brigand, Valerian whom Shapur made prisoner in A. D. 260, Gallienus, the promoter of a new wave of Hellenism, the Gaulish emperors—Laelianus, Victorinus, Postumus, whom a curious aureus presents in full face (pl. 61), and Probus, who appears ready for battle in the regalia of commander-in-chief (pl. 64).

The same holds good until A. D. 305, under the tetrachy with Diocletian and Maximian (pl. 68). But in certain portraits of Diocletian (pls. 65, 66)—and particularly in the iconography of Licinius (pl. 69) and of Maximinus Daia—a new attitude begins to make itself felt; its origins are difficult to trace but it can only be described as 'cubist'. The type of plastic treatment and modelling which had been used up till then, together with the draughtsmanship which had to some degree sterilised them, were replaced by a purely arbitrary construction of the face, by a contempt for any objective resemblance, which employs straight and curved lines and cylinders in a geometry that abolishes all traces of humanity. The germ of Byzantine art is already there. On the other hand, we must refer to the medals of Constantius I Chlorus, which were rediscovered at Beaurains near Arras in 1923 in an Imperial treasure hoard (pl. 67). In them we can follow the physical evolution of an ageing face as we can too in the coins from which we know Helena, the mother of Constantine (pl. 59).

Pride of place in Byzantine numismatic art might well be given to the silver medal which commemorates the founding of Constantinople in A.D. 330 (pl. 71). Admittedly the portrait of Constantine the Great, a noble and austere figure, which attracts our attention to it, is structurally part of that geometric art of Oriental inspiration of which we have just spoken. But coins with portraits of Constantine are very numerous, and their variations bear witness to the multiplicity of the workshops in which they were struck. Besides the other coin illustrated (pl. 72) there is the young Constantine, shown barely half-length, who appears later enveloped in vast draperies, associated with the sun-god; Constantine full face, adorned with a nimbus; Constantine in three-quarters view, clad in a breast-plate, with a plumed helmet, holding sceptre and shield in one hand while the other seizes his horse's bridle; Constantine in profile wearing a helmet with a small crest decorated with the monogram of Christ and a row of jewels. His look is often ecstatic and his eyes are lifted to the sky in imitation of Alexander. It is in such likenesses that we find the origin of later developments of Byzantine art.

The principle underlying it—one diametrically opposed to Hellenistic art—is no longer the objective representation of the sovereign's person with his immediately recognisable individual traits but the glorification of imperial majesty as such, which has now acquired a symbolic quality. The apparatus of power with its ritual trappings—embroidered robes, sumptuous coiffures, and jewelled diadems—is what the engravers attempt to render; in so doing, they are subject to a rigid set of formulae, which allow of no deviation. These tendencies, incidentally, are already to be found in a developed state on the coinage of Tigranes, king of Armenia, or Mithridates, king of Parthia. Technique also plays a part in a decisive fashion in this evolutionary process. The thinness of the Byzantine coins made it difficult to use plastic modelling; instead a sort of linear script with a barely perceptible relief was adopted. Although this makes it easier to strike the coin with a hammer, the sculptural effect suffers because it is produced by a more hazardous technique in the course of which the workman feels heated metal swell under the impact of deep-cut dies. In consequence the design on the coins becomes a barely imprinted drawing like a filigree.

Under the sons of Constantine—Crispus, Constantine II, Constantius II (pl. 74) and Constans I (pl. 73)—a style develops marked by a rather soft elegance which at times borders on the feminine. The faces are elongated and conform visibly to the style obtaining at court; the wigs are carefully curled and combed in regular waves. The princes distributed coins like these, bearing their over-refined features, in handfuls at the consular games.

Magnentius, the usurper of Gaul (350–353), Decentius (pl. 70) and Vetricianus, are soldiers with massive heads and carelessly combed hair, indicated by vigorous strokes. In the course of a process of degeneration which proceeds from Jovian through Valentinian I, Gratian and Valentinian II, the strong personality of

Julian, whom the Christians called the Apostate, asserts itself. Accurate portraits of Julian are found between 355 and 363—at first with youthful features, then, after his entry into Constantinople in 361, with a philosopher's beard, of which he himself makes fun in the *Misopogon*.

The portraits of Theodosius I (379–395), who struck the final blow in the defeat of paganism, tell us little of his psychology. From then on the emperor with his nimbus is assimilated to the God of Majesty, the impersonal visage of the Pantocrator. A purely conventional pattern sets in with Arcadius, emperor of the East from 395–408—a small bust seen full on, a three-quarters view of a helmeted head, lance on shoulder and shield on arm. The same type holds good under Theodosius II, Leo I or Basiliscus. A hint of reality breaks through again under Zeno (474–491).

In the West, after the split in the Empire which was never to be healed, the medals of Honorius (395–423) mark a return to the noble style, but a banal convention prevails during the reigns of Valentinian III, of Attalus, and of many others right up to Romulus Augustulus who, at the moment of complete collapse, bore the names of the founders of Rome and of the Empire (475–476).

Empresses frequently appear on the coins—first of all Helena, mother of Constantine, then Constantia, wife of Licinius, Fausta, wife of Constantine, Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius, wearing a dazzling diadem and a chlamys fastened on the shoulder by a brooch, Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius II and Licinia Eudoxia, wife of Valentinian I. Others like Aelia Verina, wife of Leo I, Galla Placidia and Honoria, are barely distinguishable from one another on the gold solidi struck in their name.

The history of this period is dominated by the Imperial couple, Justinian (527–565) and Theodora. There is no lack of numismatic material for us to set alongside the famous mosaics of Sant'Apollinare and San Vitale in Ravenna or the Barberini ivories. But Theodora, the ex-dancer, does not appear on the coinage. The great gold medal in the *Cabinet des médailles*, which was stolen and melted down in 1831, now exists only as an admittedly very faithful galvanoplastic copy. The bust of the emperor is seen in only three-quarters view but in all its imposing dimensions; the right shoulder is higher than the other and framed by the rim of shield, which is thrown over his back. His hand appears at the bottom holding a lance at an angle. On the powerful neck—it is not modelled—the head rises in a series of round volumes with full cheeks and prominent eyes opened wide to stare at the spectator. The curve of the jewel-studded helmet widens still further this system of circles, which is finally crowned by the nimbus and crossed diagonally by a fan of peacock feathers.

We must come down as far as Phocas (602–610) and to Constans II (641–668) if we wish to rediscover clearly characterised portraits seen in profile or full face. The coins of Heraclius (610–641, pl. 76), who recaptured the Holy Cross which had been carried off by the Sassanid king, Chosroes, are exceptional in that they show us three persons in full face—the emperor and his two sons, Heraclius Constantinus and Heraclionas; but they are merely slight silhouettes which look like marionettes. Under Justinian II (685–695 and 704–711) the bust is closely wrapped in a checked chlamys, the face framed by large locks of hair hanging down almost to the shoulders. On the reverse is the figure of Christ on the Cross. Certain likenesses are not without iconographical value; such are those of Leontius (695–698), of Tiberius III Absimarus (698–705), of Philippicus Bardanes (711–713) and of Anastasius II (713–716, pl. 75).

The iconoclastic fury unleashed by Leo III, the Isaurian, in 726 had no effect on the art of coinage. The emperor himself is represented on the golden *solidi*, dressed in a checked tunic. After him the famous Empress Irene occupies the scene; it was she who put out her son's eyes at the very time when Charlemagne had been crowned emperor of the West by the pope. A uniform design tends to become common—in it the oval of the face is cut by the horizontal line of the Imperial crown, the hair falls vertically onto the shoulders which are covered by the *chlamys*, the latter being embroidered and sewn with pearls.

Modelling becomes vigorous once more under Leo VI the Wise (886–912), Romanus II (959–963), of whom we have fine portraits which bear comparison with the ivory plaques of the period, Constantine VIII (1025–1028), Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–1041), and Michael VII Ducas (1071–1078). Amongst a host of others, mention should be made of the bizarre likenesses of the two sisters Zoe and Theodora, dated 1042, who stare out at us with the unreal immobility of an icon.

This is the period when certain religious types develop and become increasingly common, showing the Imperial personages associated with Christ or the Virgin helping to support a Cross—e.g., on the golden *solidi* of Nicephorus II Phocas (963–969), of John I Tzimiscēs, of Basil II and Constantine VIII. The ducats of the doges of Venice derived from this tradition.

In the course of this long evolutionary process, which stretches over more than ten centuries, the Imperial portrait becomes gradually reduced to a vignette of entirely superficial interest. The deterioration of the art of coin-making is completed with the so-called *scyphati*—thin cup-shaped metal plaques in which the alloy also is an uncertain quantity. They began to be struck under Romanus IV, Michael VII, Nicephorus III, and lead on to the mis-shapen pieces struck in his troubled days by John VIII Paleologus, on the eve of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. We would find it difficult indeed to recognise on them the features of the last *basileus*, whom Pisanello shows us on the first modern medal. Thus the art of a brilliant innovator working in the dawn of the Renaissance is subtly linked with the last traces of a vanishing age.

Sassanid art was destined to spread its cadences and rhythms far and wide throughout the Western world. The ivories and embroidered stuffs exported to the extremities of Europe during the Middle Ages spread through the continent symmetrical decorative motifs and a brilliant profusion of goldsmiths' work which was not unfamiliar to the sculptors of the Romanesque porches.

When the Sassanids chased the Parthian Arsacids from Persia in the first quarter of the 3rd century B. C., it seems that, at first, this dynastic revolution caused only rather trifling modifications to the art of coin-making. Ardashir I (226–241, pl. 79) wears the Parthian tiara stamped with a star on top of his royal *bachlik*. His profile is a remarkable one with its long wavy beard and great hooked nose. But soon we see specifically Sassanid motifs appearing which break away from the Hellenistic tradition. This evolution in style is due to both political and mystical causes. Ardashir, who defeated the Roman emperor Maximus, systematically attempted to renew the broken threads of Achaemenid history and, basing himself on his high descent—he claimed that his line went back to Artaxerxes I Longimanus—determined to rebuild the empire which had crumbled under Darius III Codomannis. His reign is characterised by a reaction against the Graeco-Parthian tradition and against religious Hellenism. This was the time when Zoroastrianism flourished, when the Magi collected their sacred books and wrote others. Nevertheless, in spite of the ban on the Greek language and the persecutions decreed against the Christians and representatives of the West, it was Greek and Roman artists who were called upon to engrave the dies for his coins and adapt their technique to the modes of Oriental thought. This compromise gave birth at first to splendid images. The most beautiful Sassanid coins are undoubtedly those of Shapur I (241–272, pl. 77). The King of Kings is shown in profile but, in order to display his physical power, the torso is seen from the front. We cannot but marvel at the width of his shoulders, on which there rises the narrow head with its long aquiline nose, or admire the rich beard in which the ringlets are rendered by milling. The loose hair which blows out behind his neck is thick and curling. On the head is a close-fitting, fantastic head-dress which combines the Persian bonnet with its ear-pieces, and the crenellated crown, which splays out to hold the celestial globe. The whole is a gleaming, fairylike mass of gems and pearls; on the reverse there is the fiery altar, served by priests—the *mobeds*—or by the king himself.

The coins of Shapur are still as thick as the aurei of the Roman Empire. Soon the rim grows thinner and wider until the point is reached where it forms a decorative border of crescents and stars round the central design. The likeness, which at first combines an air of majesty with its sumptuous coiffure, gives way to a vignette in which all the stress is on the fantastic regalia of power and the individual character is overshadowed by excess of ornament. It is true that this head-dress is itself of interest, not only in the broad sense, as illustrating the splendour of a dynasty, but in particular, since the form of each tiara, the placing

of the wings and of the globe together with the details of the jewellery, are the only clues—apart from an inscription in Pehlevi—which allow us to identify a particular sovereign.

Although Sassanid numismatic art does not abandon a type once adopted, the increasingly rudimentary plastic treatment reduces it to an almost indecipherable mark—a process which bears no relation to the economic or political prosperity of the empire. It is when Chosroes II (590–628) is at the peak of his power that the coins become thin wafers of silver like the *bracteates* or the *nummi scyphati*—the cup-shaped coins of the Byzantine Empire. All that one can distinguish on them is a schematic profile with no other characteristic feature than the particular form of the royal coiffure. Examples are the coins of Hormizd, of the Bahrams, of Narses, of Shapur II, of the Yazdegerds, of Peroz and so on, up to Yazdegerd III (632–651), the last of a dynasty which was then destroyed by the Muslim invasion.

These iconographic designs can be compared to other plastic monuments which together sum up a brilliant history. A cameo in the *Cabinet des médailles* illustrates an event which gravely disturbed the world. In A.D. 260, the Roman emperor Valerian was captured by Shapur I and was subjected to the utmost humiliation. The two horsemen are facing each other and the king of Persia, wearing his crown surmounted by a solar disc, with the fringes of his sacred belt—the *koshti*—floating behind his back, seizes the hand of the emperor. The bas-reliefs on the cliffs of Tak-i-Bostan present us with similar scenes. On the other hand, various precious objects in the *Cabinet des médailles* demand to be compared with the series of coins. First of all there is the cameo on a rock crystal which represents a Sassanid king—Chosroes or Yazdegerd—sitting on a jewel-studded throne. This cameo forms the central piece of a chalice which the *Chronicles of St Denis* calls the 'Cup of Solomon' and which is believed to have been brought, along with other presents, to Charlemagne by the ambassadors of Haroun-al-Rashid, the caliph of Baghdad. The cup itself is made of a network of gold in which are set crystal or glass medals coloured in red or green. Round the rim runs a thin border of garnets set in gold—one of the most perfect examples of cloisonné ware, which had already been so remarkably developed in the West at the court of the barbarian kings, particularly at that of Childeric, king of the Franks, whose tomb at Tournai has given us a splendid sword. Another Sassanid sovereign, one of the Chosroes, is represented on the silver-gilt cup from the Luynes collection galloping along with bow bent amidst the wild animals he intends to shoot. Here again, even in the midst of such violent exercise, the king is wearing his crown topped with a winged globe and his ritual costume.

Other articles can be set alongside these coins—the seals engraved on such hard stones as cornelian or sardonyx, on which figure kings and priests and even mere functionaries or provincial governors.

Gaulish coins have long been held in contempt by both amateurs and scholars who saw in them only the feeble efforts of a clumsy art which strove in vain to reproduce in an intelligible fashion models from far lands, the very meaning of which had been lost. That is no longer the case today when public attention has been drawn to Celtic art. Very typical examples of that art have rightly been identified in the extremely varied coinage which we find throughout France, Belgium, the countries of the Rhine and ancient Brittany. In it, a highly alert imagination finds free expression in varied forms with a common principle.

It is an imagination which runs directly counter to reason and the classical norm. It is the imagination of peoples for whom the vital instinct, the desire to create art, was incompatible with an ideal of beauty decreed by superior beings and yet faithful to human nature passionately observed—the ideal which was the lodestar of Greek art right up to its last Hellenistic expressions.

This is all the more remarkable because coinage and the art of coin-making were, in all their aspects, imported articles. From the 3rd century B.C. onwards the golden coins of Tarentum, of Campania and Latium, and at a later date the Roman denarii, the drachmae of Massilia, the latter inspired by Syracuse or Velia, begin to circulate in Gaul like the coins of Rhodes on the Iberian coast and are at once copied. But what arrived most plentifully was a piece of currency which had spread throughout the known world; for the golden stater of Philip of Macedon penetrated into the farthest corners of Western Europe and became the prototype for the autonomous coinage of peoples who were beginning to follow the kind of economy adopted long since in the Hellenistic kingdoms.

The types are the beardless laurel-wreathed head of Apollo (pls. 81, 82) with, on the reverse, a chariot with a pair of horses. In the Auvergne we find very faithful imitations of these staters. But it was precisely those coins, copied at first by artists whose eye was sufficiently trained and hand sufficiently skilled to grasp their meaning and follow their designs, which gave rise to a world of images that is either degenerate or else the wild and eccentric product of a deliberately disordered art.

It is to this strange faculty for deformation that we owe the incoherent fantasies with which the Gaulish coins present us. The realms of nature are confounded; animal and vegetable seem to mix. Human hair, indicated by S-shaped spirals, develops into vine tendrils. A single element, arbitrarily chosen, is repeated in series and rows. A feature in a face is isolated and drawn out into a loop. Chains growing from a head look like tentacles tipped with flowers, which themselves turn into human faces or heads of monsters. The whole gives the impression of vegetable excrescences, of protuberances, of formations which recall shellfish or zoophytes. Under the hands of a Gaulish workman the human face is transformed into something at once absurd and inspired.

Nor is that all. With complete ingenuousness, a total absence of critical sense or taste for reality, the Gauls

seize upon one element in the face—the eye, for instance—and make it the sole subject of their design. The eye of Apollo becomes a geometric motif composed of parallel strokes enclosing a little wheel surrounded by stars. The original model of the god's youthful head is even less recognisable. There remain of it only rows of curls and vestiges of the laurel crown in the form of a series of crescents. That is the kind of coinage we find in Armorica, Belgium, or the valley of the Seine, among the Carnutes, Bituriges and Parisii—to name only a few tribes. It was issued before Caesar's conquest of Gaul, in places where the French provinces, which have retained their names, would in due course, be born. Beyond the frontiers of Gaul, the Celts who had settled along the Rhine and the Danube provide evidence of a development along similar lines.

The type on the reverse lends itself to a similar process of degeneration. In place of the original biga we find fantastic horses with human faces appearing; whatever replaces the chariot becomes an unintelligible mark. Attempts have been made in vain to discover in these fantastic figures allusions to the Druid cult or to the elements of a cosmic philosophy. There are a few pieces which show us that the proximity of the Romans had begun to entice the Gauls away from their realm of fantasy. These coins bear proper names which are perhaps those of tribal chiefs. The question is whether we should see in them portraits in the strict sense of the word. The person with the plaited beard who appears on a coin of the Carnutes is said to be Andecombrus. On other coins—no longer of electrum but of bronze—we find Atectorix or Contutus, chief of the Pictones, Andobru, wearing a wide-brimmed helmet, Lucterius, chief of the Cadurci, and Vergasillaunus and Epilus, both Arverni. One of the most significant portraits is that of Togiantus, chief of the Arverni, with his bald head and his great bony nose. But the iconographic interest of these pieces does not compensate for the shortcomings of their manufacture.

Our interest increases when we come to the electrum staters which bear the name of Vercingetorix (pl. 83). It would be an exciting experience to contemplate the authentic portrait of the young chief who incarnated both the spirit of the resistance to Rome and the spirit of sacrifice, which made him fall at Caesar's feet after the surrender of Alesia in 52 B.C. We could then make a tragic comparison with the image of the Gaul on the denarii of Hostilius Saserna, which has been identified as the chief of the Arverni, now worn out by his captivity (pl. 39). The designs on the coinage of Vercingetorix vary—they present us with the head of a young unbearded man either wearing a helmet or bare-headed, with occasionally the shadow of a moustache on his lip. All this has given rise to lively debates among the scholars. Is it a young god modelled on the Greek Apollo or the idealised face of a Gaulish hero? The temptation is to side with the partisans of the latter hypothesis. On the reverse we find not the biga of the staters of Philip but the *frec*, galloping horse of the Gaulish cavalry.

The invading tribes from the East who poured over the Roman Empire from the 5th century onwards and who, by gradually settling on the conquered territories, were to alter the face of Europe, had the effect of spreading a gold coinage. To tell the truth, iconography, in the strict sense of the word, derived little benefit from this development. The Frankish, Burgundian, Visigoth, Ostrogoth and Lombard chiefs who penetrated into Gaul, Spain and Italy, were concerned only to demonstrate their power to an Empire which was about to crumble into ruins, but which still retained a traditional, if purely symbolical, prestige. Their first care was to have copies made of a currency which still circulated widely because of the commercial habits of the conquered peoples. We therefore find remarkably faithful copies of the gold *solidi* of Anastasius, of Justin and Justinian, circulating in the barbarian kingdoms. The coins themselves present us with nothing more than conventional likenesses, which have been robbed of all their vitality by a formal ceremonial pattern.

The same is true of France under the Merovingians—Theodebert I, Clotaire I, Dagobert I, Caribert, Sigebert II, Clovis II and Childeric II—whose ‘*solidi*’ and ‘*triens*’ follow each other in monotonous series. Only one medallion of Dagobert I, which has come down to us in its filigree mounting, has survived to demonstrate a clumsy attempt at portraiture (pl. 85).

However, for political and economic reasons, such as the payment of taxes, the right to strike coins was delegated to the counts, the bishops and the abbots in their monasteries. They employed clumsy engravers who, with a few strokes of the engraving tool, sketched a cross or a head in profile on slim gold pieces—the *triens*. It is a somewhat fruitless task to attempt to group in schools the products of those workmen who inscribed on their pieces their own or their patron’s name. It is doubtful whether we can speak of style at all when faced by these tiny figures, grouped according to their regional characteristics. The *scettas* struck in Frisia, which circulated over a wide area, also show no sign of any artistic impulse worthy of our consideration.

Under the Carolingians, gold coins ceased to be struck. Charlemagne’s desire to put himself on the same plane as the Roman emperors manifests itself by the issue of a silver *denier* bearing the portrait of the sovereign—not the bearded Charlemagne of the *chansons de geste* but a man with a short moustache, crowned with laurels in the manner of an *imperator* (pl. 86). The same treatment can be seen in the equestrian statuette in the Musée Carnavalet. His successors—Louis the Pious, Charles the Fat, Charles the Bald—had no better artists at their command. In fact the Carolingian Renaissance is not reflected in the history of numismatics.

It is only from the 10th to the 13th century that the art of making coins recovers some of its vigour in France. Sometimes copies were made of reliquary busts—as of St Martial of Limoges or of St Maurice

of Vienne. A design with the royal head spread in Spain and in southern France. Mention must be made of the almost comical distortions inflicted on the human face in the 10th century.

In Germany, our attention is attracted, not so much by the coins of Henry II, Conrad II and Henry III, struck at Duisburg, Cologne and Mainz, as by the bracteates which bear evidence to what, this time, is a remarkable artistic development. They were struck, using a most meticulous technique, by the cities and the abbeys and are thin silver discs, bearing a relief motif in repoussé work. The designs offer a remarkable variety of figures of saints or buildings.

In England, the coinage presents us with types similar to those of the Merovingians—for instance the coins of the kings of Kent and of Mercia, Offa's penny and Wilfred's penny. After the ancient gold coins of Cunobelin in the 1st century A.D. (pl. 87), those of Wigmund (837–854), of Alfred (871–900, pl. 89), of Edward the Confessor (1042–1066, pl. 88), of William the Conqueror (1066–1087, pl. 90), and of Henry III (1216–1272, pl. 91) serve to illustrate Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman history. In the 13th century the groat appears and, most important of all, the esterlin, bearing a royal head in full face. The latter was to become international currency and gave rise to many imitations.

As we look over what are—it must be confessed—rather unattractive series, our attention is held by the almost startling portrait of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths (471–526, pl. 84), represented in full face, with his staring eyes and a pyramid of hair, ending in a fringe of curls. A sort of relentless savagery seems to have inspired the craftsman commissioned by the still barbarian prince who, conscious of his dignity, had his coins struck in Rome.

The very idea of the portrait seems to have been lost in the course of the ages. When, in France, St Louis revived the gold écu, the engravers—although they showed by creating the fleur-de-lys design, that they could arrange a decorative motif, remarkable in all respects, which reminds us of the work done by the artists in stained glass—yet made no effort to present us with a royal likeness to set beside such rare iconographic documents of the saint and king as the statue at Manneville. The Capetians, who succeeded him, furnish nothing but miniatures, which have a certain historical and artistic interest, but in which we look in vain for any personal reference. They are conventional renderings of the *franc à pied*, the *franc à cheval*, or the king standing on a dais or in a tent or seated in state on a throne. The skill of the engravers is not inadequate nor is their style negligible, but they do not go beyond picturesque illustrations.

On the other hand, Frederick II, the Swabian emperor, that strange and ambitious despot with his Islamic leanings who gave new life to the arts and letters, attempted to revive the ancient tradition of the Empire, by causing to be struck in 1233 at Naples and Amalfi what is known as the gold augustal. The remarkable likeness it bears may be compared to the fine equestrian statue in Bamberg Cathedral—the Bamberg Horseman, which has been identified with him. The emperor is crowned and wears all the regalia of Roman grandeur, which is recalled again in a legend borrowed from the days of Augustus. Frederick was copied in this by Charles of Anjou, who struck a gold real (pl. 92).

15th-Century Italy

The medal, which is rightly considered to be a symbol of the Renaissance, is one of the few modes of artistic expression of which the origin can be dated with precision. It is an invention which emerges suddenly in the history of the arts—in 1439. But this was not a case of spontaneous generation; the Renaissance medal had a number of forerunners which make its emergence not unexpected.

From ancient times we find, alongside the coinage, which is both a means of exchange and an organ of propaganda, examples of numismatic art produced with no practical aim in mind but merely out of 'love of ostentation', as Benvenuto Cellini was to say. These are medallions intended to serve as princely gifts or as a reward for services rendered. Examples of this are the medallions, manufactured under the Severi and bearing the effigies of Alexander the Great and Philip of Macedon, which were discovered at Tarsus.

From the time of Antoninus, bronze medallions commemorating scenes from the history of Rome—Hercules and Caccus, Evander offering a meal to Hercules, the landing of the Trojans on Italian soil, the Augur Naevis cutting a rock with a razor, Horatius keeping the bridge—were intended to be preserved as illustrations of a legendary past. Some of them were mounted in such a way as to indicate that they may have been used on military standards. The medallions known as *contorniates*, which appear under the later Empire, whatever their purpose may have been, have the character of pure objects of art collected for their aesthetic or commemorative value.

The latter quality is particularly marked in the gold medallions struck at Trier and recently discovered at Beaurains near Arras; by their means, Constantius Chlorus, at the end of the 3rd century A.D., hoped to ensure his greater glory in his Gaulish capital. The same may be said of the great gold medallion of Justinian, of the medallion of Dagobert, which has been mentioned above, of the gold double solidi of the Carolingians, which were known as *munus divinum*. Much later the augustals of Frederick II, the German thalers called *Denkmünzen*, the *oselle* struck at Venice, and the 13th-century matapans, showing the doge kneeling at the feet of St Mark, belong to the same category.

In the last quarter of the 14th century, at the first dawn of the Renaissance, when names like those of Petrarch or Fulvio Orsini begin to appear, we are faced by a number of related phenomena. There have always been collectors of coins. Augustus himself distributed choice specimens as New Year gifts. We have good reason to believe that series of coins were preserved during the Middle Ages in the monastery libraries as being the most reliable historical documents. From now on collectors become increasingly numerous and increasingly discriminating. In Italy the term 'medal' was applied to pieces which were preserved in collections because they were no longer current and had a purely scientific or historical interest.

In 1390, Francesco II Novello, lord of Carrara, had medals struck with his likeness by goldsmiths to celebrate his victory over Gian Galeazzo Visconti at Padua; these were so close to their ancient models

that for long they were taken to be counterfeit coins of Vitellius. At the end of the century, a Venetian family of engravers, Sesto by name, produced coins imitated from ancient models and thus anticipated the Paduans, who, in the following century, furnished their clients with Imperial coins so well imitated that they pass as genuine to this day.

In France, medals proper are known from the beginning of the 15th century. Admittedly certain silver plaques with repoussé decoration illustrating the legend of the Cross and bearing portraits of Heraclius and Constantine, are essentially jewellers' work. It was jewellers, too, who executed the medals representing the Roman and Byzantine emperors. Michelet Saulmon presented Jean, duke of Berry, who patronized this activity, with a medal showing the Virgin and the prince. Mention should be made, too, of the celebrated gold medals with which Charles VII rewarded his faithful lieges and commemorated the expulsion of the English from France at the end of the Hundred Years War, of the large gold pieces of John II, and those of Henry III of Castille; but these are coins of a large size and the range of images employed on them does not vary from the common run of the age.

Under the same heading fall the coin-like medals of the duke of Guyenne, brother of Louis XI, those of Gaston de Foix, by François Phébus on which we see in miniature a charming *Noli me tangere*—those of John II of Bourbon, and, finally, the medal cast in 1494 on the instructions of the city of Vienne, bearing portraits of Anne of Brittany and the dauphin, Charles-Orland.

Meanwhile a painter and expert in casting metal, who was almost certainly called Antonio Pisano but who is most widely known under the single name of 'Pisanello' (before 1395–1455), struck on the idea of modelling in wax a portrait in relief. A plaster cast of his wax model allowed him to make moulds which were easily chased and reproduced. The invention was all the more successful since the first person to be thus portrayed was the emperor of the East, John VIII Palaeologus, come to Italy to attend the Council of Ferrara and to attempt a reconciliation between the Churches of East and West (pl. 93). Everyone was struck by the noble and melancholy silhouette of the emperor, with his elongated features, his pointed beard and fantastic Greek hat, which is a continual source of wonder because of its angular construction. On the reverse of this, the first medal, struck in 1439, we have the emperor on horseback, halting in the open country to pray before a Crucifix. Pisanello is responsible for another innovation—the composition of a symbolical design on the reverse which supplements the physical description of the sitter with a plastic commentary firmly linked with the portrait. He thereby gave expression to that taste for individuality, for *virtù*—to use Macchiavelli's term—for the expression of personality sometimes beyond all rational bounds, which is one of the characteristics of the Italian Renaissance. The various medals produced by Pisanello show us a whole society in league to encourage his genius—there are those of Lionello d'Este with his curly hair (pl. 95), of Gian Francesco Gonzaga (pl. 97), of Inigo d'Avalos, of Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan (pl. 103), and that of Cecilia Gonzaga (pl. 96), dating from about 1447, which is all grace and simplicity with, as symbolical reverse, an allegory of Chastity. The art of the medal-maker is thus seen to have extreme adaptability.

Pisanello's example was immediately copied. One of the first to imitate his technique, if not his style, was Matteo de Pasti, who died in 1491, to whom we owe some remarkable portraits of Sigismondo Pandolfo

Malatesta, lord of Rimini (pl. 108), where he reigned in the Rocca Malatestiana, and of his mistress, Isotta degli Atti who presided over a court of scholars and artists (pl. 105). From now on the Italian artists specialising in medals display varied and original temperaments and can be grouped in schools. Sperandio (1425–1495), whose works aroused Goethe's admiration, is an artist vigorous to the point of brutality. He was responsible for the medal of Francesco Gonzaga, to commemorate the victory of Fornovo, in 1495 (pl. 101), which can be set beside the famous portrait by Mantegna, and for another of the truculent condottiere, Carlo Grati (pl. 106). Sperandio is an artist of an astonishing and sometimes slapdash wealth of invention.

The art of the medal developed in Florence, Padua, Mantua, Venice and Rome; but, although faithful portraits abound, it is clear that the artists had some difficulty in completing their task and inventing subjects for the reverse. Niccolò Fiorentino is a name associated with a large number of pieces which are closely related to one another in style. Their reverses lack variety and are often undistinguished. Among the portraits that of Lorenzo il Magnifico (pl. 98) is unrelenting, indeed almost repellent in its ugliness, and very different from the portrait of Cosimo, *pater patriae* (pl. 99), or that of Charles VIII of France, the 'barbarian' who invaded Italy (pl. 115), and those of numerous ladies such as Giovanna degli Albizzi (c. 1486) or Nonnina Strozzi (pl. 107).

In 1480, Guidizani presents us with the portrait of another condottiere, Bartolommeo Colleoni, whose equestrian statue by Verrocchio is in Venice. Like Gentile Bellini, Costanzo went to Constantinople to execute a portrait of the Sultan Mohammed II, the man who, less than thirty years earlier, had dealt an almost mortal blow to Christendom. To Luca della Robbia we owe a likeness in strong relief of Savonarola, who died on the pyre in 1498 (pl. 102); it can be compared with the engraved stone preserved in Rome, which is the work of Giovanni delle Carniole. The candid features of Lucrezia Borgia are presented to us on an anonymous medal of somewhat sketchy artistic quality.

Although these Italian portraitists were energetic to the point of crudity, they could on occasion show tenderness. An artist called l'Antico has left us the face of a young girl, which is endowed with real innocence and seems designed to illustrate a *novella* by Bandello. She is Giulia Astallia, who was wronged by a servant of the bishop of Mantua and paid for her dishonour with her life (pl. 110). The medal of Isabella d'Este 'una donna più bella assai ch'il sole', who was the uncontested queen of the Mantuan court, is of great refinement and can be set beside the drawing by Leonardo da Vinci (pl. 109). The artist is Gian Cristoforo Romano.

All classes of society are represented in the gallery of Italian medals—popes like Sixtus IV (pl. 116), by Guazzalotti, and Alexander VI (pl. 117); cardinals such as Giuliano della Rovere, who became Julius II (pl. 118); the Doge Cristoforo Moro by Antonio Veneziano (pl. 120); Alfonso of Calabria, again by Guazzalotti (pl. 114); John Kendal, the English knight of Malta (pl. 159), and a host of private persons with their wives or daughters, whose likenesses illustrate only the byways of history.

Some reference remains to be made to the part played by the art of coin-making as it developed in Italy in the second half of the 15th century. It was in 1463 that Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, decided to renew an age-old tradition by placing his portrait on his gold ducats, which from that date were known

throughout Europe as 'testons'. He was followed by Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Gian Galeazzo Maria Sforza, Ludovico il Moro (pl. 119), and Giovanni Bentivoglio (pl. 121) in Bologna. Our first portrait of Louis XII is in his quality of duke of Milan and occurs on testons struck in Milan and Asti. The fashion was taken up as far away as Spain on the ducats of Ferdinand the Catholic. On the limited field of these pieces the engravers, who were often supremely skilful, contrived to draw profiles of the utmost refinement. The coins of Francis I, on which the characteristic features of the royal physiognomy are distorted, fall far short of this level. On the other hand, those of Henry II mark a return to classical norms; but the French coin-makers were far behind the art of Germain Pilon.

15th- and 16th-Century France

It was by a kind of osmosis that Italian art penetrated to France during the Renaissance. It was a process comparable to the invasion of the Roman Empire by Hellenism. Political circumstances played a great part in it—there were, for example, military expeditions from which the armies returned laden with booty that was not exclusively material. As a result there was a movement of artists from one country to another and intellectual centres were developed in what proved to be a contagious atmosphere of wealth and display. The medal was affected in the same way as the other plastic arts. We have seen how Niccolò Fiorentino caught the rough features of Charles VIII (pl. 115) and made from them a portrait comparable to that of Lorenzo il Magnifico (pl. 98). It was Italians—or at least an Italian, Pietro da Milano, and an Italianised Dalmatian, Francesco Laurana—who furnished the portraits of Louis XI (pl. 113), of René I and his second wife, Jeanne de Laval (pls. 111, 112), or of Giovanni of Calabria.

But the skill of the Italians was to be challenged by other craftsmen on territory which was not so easily conquered. Lyons, standing at the cross-roads of the trade-routes from beyond the Alps, was to see the development of a school of specialists in the making of medals. But, to begin with, this growing school was dominated by what the Italians somewhat scornfully called the 'Gothic style'. Its earliest products share the modes of thought of the waning Middle Ages.

In 1500, the town welcomed Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, the widow of Charles VIII, and offered to their majesties a great cast medal with portraits of the king and queen, the work of Nicolas Leclerc and Jean de Saint-Priest (pls. 163, 164). The making of the cast itself must have been a rather delicate task, for the names of the craftsmen have been preserved—Jean and Colin Lepère. The medal of Philibert the Fair and Margaret of Austria by Jean Marende, dated 1502, is in the same style and the same technique has been employed.

To these works, which were of surprising novelty, we can compare the gold medal by Louis and Jean Lepère, with which the town of Tours celebrated the arrival of Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany in 1494, or the little piece by the sculptor Michel Colombe—it was cast by Jean Chapillon—with the graceless portrait of Louis XII and on the reverse the symbolical porcupine shooting its quills: *cominus et eminus*.

Meanwhile Giovanni Candida, of the house of the Filangieri of Naples, appears on the scene. He was a diplomatic courier but he was also a maker of medals who helped to fuse Italian, French and Flemish ideas. He was, in fact, in the service of the dukes of Burgundy and travelled through their possessions and the neighbouring states from 1472 onwards. We can readily distinguish in his work a succession of different styles. First come the Italian medals, then the Flemish ones—those of Charles the Bold (pl. 154), of the Archduke Maximilian and of Mary of Burgundy—and then others which can be classed as French.

From the beginning of his reign, Francis I attracted to his court Italian artists, to whose genius he had surrendered. In the field which concerns us we should note the presence in Paris of Matteo del Nassaro, an engraver of precious stones, who has left us a youthful likeness of the victor of Marignan. The part played by the turbulent Benvenuto Cellini is well known; to him is attributed a likeness of the king even more faun-like than the portraits by Titian or Jean Clouet. In addition, an anonymous craftsman produced the great medal of Louise of Savoy, of which a lead copy has been preserved; in it Italian influences and a peculiarly French taste mingle. Other Italian artists, like Romelli, reproduced the features of Francis with a greater or lesser degree of liveliness.

Under the Valois, one name stands out—that of Germain Pilon, the famous sculptor of the tomb of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici in St-Denis. He left a series of large cast medals, which were sometimes chased with the chisel after they had been cast; they show us, with a fidelity comparable to that of the famous contemporary drawings, Henry II (pl. 165), Catherine de' Medici (pl. 166), Charles IX, Henry III (pl. 167), and the chancellor Birague—the last a remarkable likeness of the cunning diplomat of whom Germain Pilon also executed a kneeling statue. The presentation copy in its leather case, the work of Nicolas Eve, is now in the *Cabinet des médailles*. This fashion for large metal portraits is a purely French one and has no equivalent elsewhere. It was continued in the next generation by Guillaume Dupré. Mention must also be made, in passing, of the more modest productions of such provincial artists as Jacques Gauvin of Lyons, which are not without a certain merit.

The Netherlands in the 15th and 16th Centuries

The list of medals produced in Flanders during this period is short, but they are all of the highest quality. First and foremost comes that of Erasmus of Rotterdam, the famous humanist (pl. 156). The great cast medal, which reproduces his austere features, is dated 1519, and is the work of the painter, Quinten Massys, who has also left us one of his sister and a self-portrait. The medal of Erasmus is worthy to be compared with Holbein's portraits; from it we can readily feel the attraction which the philosopher friend of Guillaume Bude and Luis Valdes exercised on those who knew him.

The portrait of Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (pl. 155), the father of Charles V's minister, Cardinal de Granvelle (pl. 158), is the work of the poet, Jean Second, and dates from 1531. It is a very sober likeness in light relief, which demonstrates the psychological penetration of its author. Steven van Herwyck, who

signed his works with his initials—a fact which led him to be given at one time the fantastic name of Steven Hollandicus—worked at the English court and a medal of Henry VIII has been attributed to him (pl. 160). Conrad Bloc has left a medal of Henry IV and another of the Archduke Albert. His medal of Charlotte de Bourbon, third wife of William the Silent and a virtuous and somewhat insignificant woman, is a good example of his honest gifts (pl. 157).

16th-Century Italy

The Italian medal continued to develop freely. It passed through a Baroque period notable, in particular, for female portraits in which the silhouette is lost amidst the curls and artificiality of an extravagant coiffure. As we see from the portraits of Leonora Cambi, dating from about 1500 (pl. 123), that solidity of construction which we find in Pisanello and his rivals is lost in the *tours de force* of Bombarda or Ruspagiari. Pastorino, who was a very productive artist, provided clients from all over Europe with medals which give an impression of greater artistic stability. Examples are those of Lodovica Felicina Rossi (pl. 125), of Grazia Nazi (pl. 126), which has a Hebrew inscription, and of Eleonora, duchess of Mantua (pl. 136); the portrait of Mary Queen of Scots is by Primavera, another artist whose reputation extended beyond his native land and who produced large numbers of what might be styled 'society portraits' (pl. 127).

The Milanese school, on the other hand, proved to be so original that it was able to spread its style far and wide. The Sforza's engraver, Cristoforo Foppa, known as Caradosso—'Bear-face'—is the author of pieces which are models of restraint and are valued not only for their perfect execution but because they present such famous persons as Julius II and Bramante. On a medal of about 1501 the latter is given the appearance of a classical bust. On the reverse is St Peter's, Rome, as the famous architect conceived it, before his plans were superseded by those of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Michelangelo; it is therefore a document of the first importance.

The sculptor Leone Leoni, a rival of Benvenuto Cellini and equally temperamental, began his career as a goldsmith. As well as numerous busts and statues, such as that of Charles V taming Fury, he modelled a number of medals which are both delicate and psychologically penetrating; from them we know the features of Charles V (pl. 131), of his wife, Isabella of Portugal (pl. 132)—Titian used this medal to paint his admirable portrait of a woman he had never seen—of Michelangelo (pl. 135) and Andrea Doria (pl. 134). Leoni's son, Pompeo, whom Philip II attracted to Spain to set up the groups of statues in the choir of the Escorial church, followed in his father's footsteps. There is a medal by him of the unfortunate Don Carlos. Jacopo da Trezzo, who was also a goldsmith and an engraver of jewels with a world-wide reputation, decorated these statues with precious stones set in gilded bronze, and was responsible for the pyx on the high altar. His scrupulously careful art is marked by qualities of observation which enabled him to produce portraits of Philip II (pl. 129), of Mary I (pl. 128), and of Gianello della Torre, watchmaker to Charles V (pl. 133), which deserve to be placed alongside the portraits by Titian or Antonio Moro. Along

with these Milanese masters we must mention a medal-maker known to us only by his initials, A. V., who has left us a very lively portrait of Aretino (1492–1556, pl. 137). The reverses of these medals generally offer only conventional compositions, which rely on an anaemic mythology—an example is the Fountain of the Sciences by Jacopo da Trezzo or the Chariot of Aurora, which accompanies the portrait of Gonzaga. Alongside Leoni and Jacopo da Trezzo, we can place the Poggini, although they belong to a lower category. Jacob Jonghelinck of Antwerp, to whom we owe portraits of Antoine Perrenot, Cardinal de Granvelle (pl. 158), Margaret of Austria, Philip de Montmorency, Charles V, and Philip II, was one of the artists most strongly influenced by the Milanese school.

15th- and 16th-Century Germany

German medals occupy a clearly defined and original position in the history of numismatics. They derive their attraction, which is very real, from quite different sources than Italian medals. At first sight, they appear to be less rich and are distinguished by a more familiar, more everyday appearance. With a certain naivety, they display both good nature and cruelty. On the other hand, they maintain a heraldic style and, in this respect, are fairly closely linked to medieval tradition.

The technique is to some extent derived from that invented by Pisanello but it includes special features, which give the German medals their special value. They are goldsmiths' work—but they also involve the craft of wood-carvers and engravers. The moulds were not modelled but cut in boxwood or in the soft stone from Solnhofen; this gives them a precision of line and a dry quality which is far removed from the suppleness of wax; but it is a technique with its own virtues. Some of these moulds have been preserved for their intrinsic value and there are a number of examples in the various collections.

Yet German art did not remain cut off from Italian influences, which, thanks to trade, penetrated into the southern states by way of the Brenner. When the German medal was in its infancy, we find work by Albrecht Dürer (pl. 142) and Peter Vischer (pl. 141), who produced plaquettes which reflect a strictly classical humanism. But then the national temperament triumphs and the majority of the likenesses are entirely Germanic in feeling. The art was encouraged in Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Leipzig, with the result that we can distinguish the different schools which helped to diffuse it.

One of the first medals to attract our attention, and one of the most characteristic, is that of Charles V as a beardless young man wearing the Imperial crown, in 1521, two years after his election as Holy Roman Emperor (pl. 139). The sketch is said to have been made by Dürer, but it is to Hans Reinhart, a goldsmith, that we owe its execution. The likeness of the young sovereign, who is impassive and stiff in a pose of rather chilling majesty, is flanked by coats-of-arms which reinforce his heraldic attitude. To Reinhart, too, we owe a medal of John Frederick I of Saxony (pl. 140). Numerous medals have been attributed to Dürer on the strength of initials which are not always authentic. But the portraits of his father (pl. 142) and of a young unidentified girl are certainly by him. Nevertheless, Dürer's genius does not seem to have

found sufficient scope in the medal for the imagination which inspired his 'Melancholy' and 'The Knight, Death, and the Devil'. German craftsmen proved incapable of inventing the kind of subject for the reverse of their medals for which certain Italian examples are famous.

Their portraits are all distinguished by a very strong realism, which makes no attempt to please or to present the sitter in the most flattering light, even when it is a woman. An example of this kind of rough veracity is provided by the medal of John Frederick I, who is shown almost full face, sword in hand, and with a rather disagreeable expression. All the German artists—Mathes Gebel, Bolsterer, Friedrich Hagenauer, Hans Daucher, Hans Kels, Hans Schwartz, and Christoph Weiditz—share this straightforward approach, which was well served by the sharp line of their burin as it cut into the hard wood or the easily worked stone. Among the most expressive likenesses which have come down to us is the portrait by Joachim Deschler of Hieronymus Paumgartner, a fat bald man with a heavy jowl and wrinkled eyes, whose face and chest are fully displayed (pl. 147). To Friedrich Hagenauer we owe a portrait of Melanchthon (pl. 144) which may be compared to the very different and anonymous one of Luther (pl. 143). The *Cabinet des médailles* has a very fine boxwood mould done by the same artist. From Hagenauer's work the portrait of Andreas Gennisch also stands out (pl. 145). Another boxwood mould is by Hans Daucher, the author of the extremely striking portrait of the Emperor Maximilian I (pl. 138). There are numerous female portraits—of the Countess Ursula von Solms (pl. 150) by Bolsterer, Apollonia Beltzinger (pl. 153), and Regina von Greifenstein, of whom we have a boxwood medal by Christoph Weiditz (pl. 146). To the latter we owe a very rare portrait of Hernando Cortés, executed when the conqueror of Mexico was departing for Toledo. This is the most trustworthy likeness of him that we possess. Mention should also be made of the portrait of Christoph Kress of Nuremberg (pl. 151).

These German medals, which are extremely accurate and fascinating documents left to us as illustrations of an age and which reflect a society with strongly marked characteristics, were all produced during one brief period. Soon the lords spiritual and temporal and the ordinary citizens, who together formed a kind of international clientele, turned to Italian craftsmen whose style was very different from that of their predecessors and who made no attempt to revive the extremely original spirit which had flourished during the preceding generation in the great cities of southern Germany. It was left to Antonio and Alessandro Abondio, to Giovanni Melon and Pietro de Pomis, to develop an art which, if still delicate, had lost its vitality.

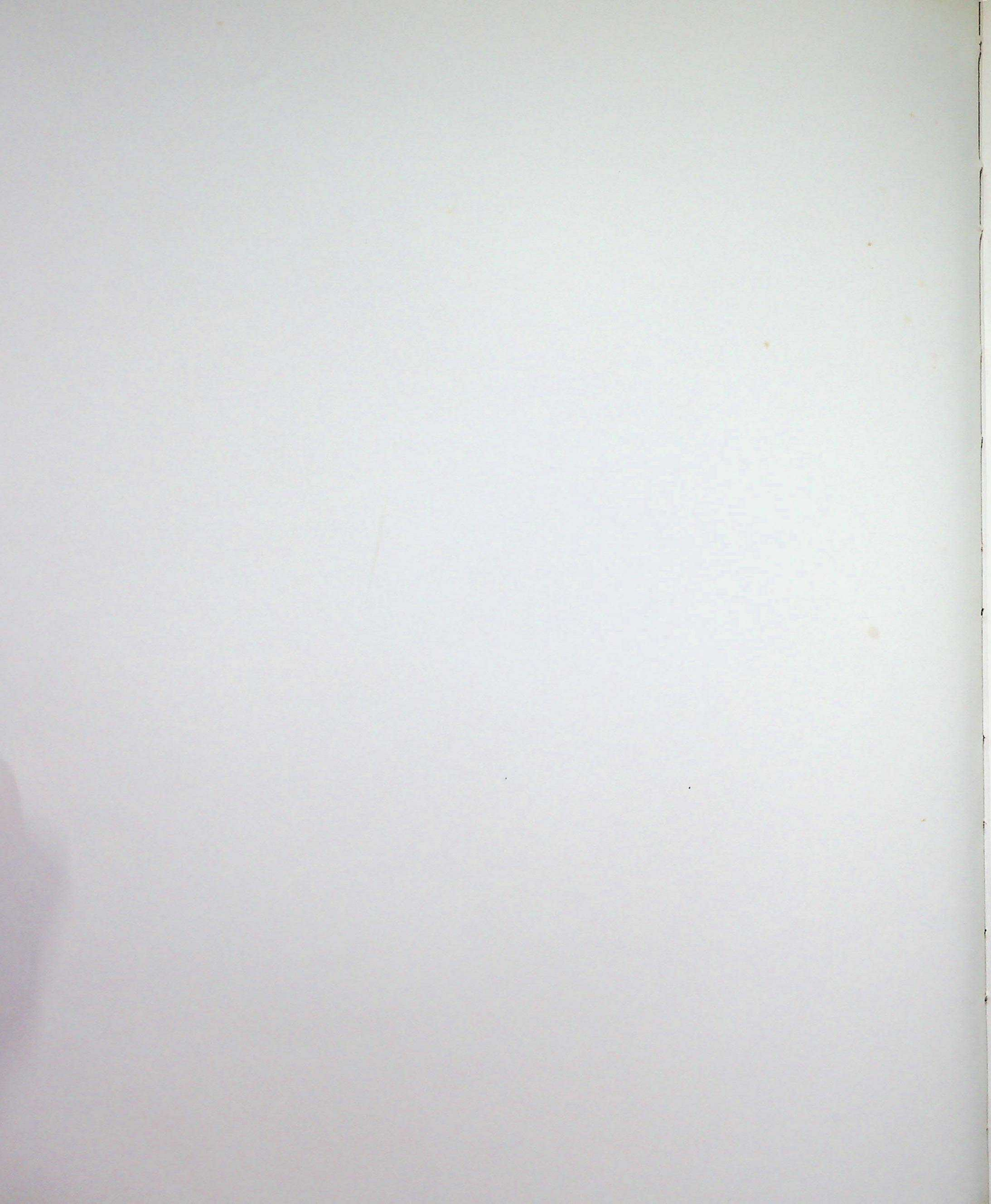
16th-Century England and Spain

In England we find no development in the art of medal-making which shows any evidence of originality. It was not that the taste for medals did not cross the Channel, but that foreign artists were called upon to satisfy it. The great medal on which Henry VIII is shown in full face, as in his portrait by Holbein, with his bust displayed to full advantage, with his heavy square build and falling chaps, has been attributed

to Steven van Herwyck, who came from Antwerp and Utrecht to settle in London (pl. 160). Thereafter Italians and Flemings combined to spread what had become an international art—men like Jacopo da Trezzo, who produced the remarkable portrait of Mary I (pl. 128), Primavera and Jonghelinck. An exception to all this is the oval medal in gilt bronze by Nicholas Hilliard, with which Elizabeth I celebrated the defeat of the Armada in 1588 (pl. 162). It is a piece in high relief, in which the queen is shown almost full face; as a work it derives from the art of the goldsmith and is of little value as a piece of iconography.

In Spain, as we have seen, royal medals were common, but it was always the Italians who were called upon to execute them—artists like the Leoni, Jacopo da Trezzo, and the Poggini. The precious cast and chased gold pieces with portraits of Philip II, which are in the *Cabinet des médailles*, show that such sumptuous pieces were exchanged as gifts between sovereigns (pl. 129).

The middle of the 16th century is the limit of this study of numismatics—an art which, as we have seen, arose in the 7th century B.C. Admittedly this was not the end of its history, but towards 1550 a new technique of coining had been invented in Augsburg. It allowed the introduction of a mechanism which soon supplanted the process of striking coins with a hammer. In due course the art of the medal felt the consequences. Originally it had been an art which depended on skill in casting and, even when the goldsmiths who practised it in various countries used the chisel to perfect their work, derived its powers of expression from the mould; now that mechanical methods had replaced the ancient techniques adopted by Pisanello it was to be basically transformed. It became a new art, which spread throughout Europe when the *monnaie des médailles* of Louis XIV showed that their manufacture could become something approaching an industrial process. It is therefore not illogical to break off in the middle of the 16th century our attempt to trace, in its broad outlines and with special reference to portraiture, the history of coins and medals.



THE PLATES





1 · ATHENE
Athens. c. 540 B. C. *Tetradrachm*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



2 · SILENUS
Catania, Sicily, c. 476 B. C. *Tetradrachm*
Hirsch Collection, Brussels



3 · QUEEN DEMARETE
Syracuse, Sicily. 480 B. C. *Decadrachm*
Luynes Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



4 · APOLLO
Leontini, Sicily. 480 B. C. *Tetradrachm*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



5 · ARETHUSA
Syracuse, Sicily. c. 450 to 439 B. C. *Tetradrachm*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



6 · ARETHUSA
Syracuse, Sicily
c. 474 to 450 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris



7 · ARETHUSA
Syracuse, Sicily. 413 B. C. *Decadrachm* by Cimon
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



8 · HERMES
Aenos, Thrace. c. 470 B. C. *Tetradrachm*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

9 · CABIRUS
Lampsacus, Mysia. c. 360 B. C. *Gold Stater*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



10 · PAN
Panticapaeum, Tauric Chersonese. c. 360 B. C. *Gold Stater*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



11 · APOLLO
Clazomenae, Ionia. c. 380 B. C. *Tetradrachm*
Obverse signed by Theodoros. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

12 · ORONTES, Satrap of Lampsacus
Mysia. c. 360 B. C. *Gold Stater*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





13 · ZEUS
Reverse: Philip II, King of Macedon from 359 to 336 B. C., on Horseback. *Tetradrachm*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



14 · GORGON'S HEAD
Etruria. c. 300 to 265 B. C. *Tetradrachm*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



15 · ALEXANDER THE GREAT
His Portrait on a Coin of Lysimachus, King of Thrace from 323 to 281 B. C. *Gold Stater*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



16 · HERCULES
Coin of the Barcides, Spain. 3rd Century B. C. *Tetradrachm*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



17 · DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES, King of Macedon from 294 to 288 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

18 · DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES, King of Macedon from 294 to 288 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



19 · HIERO II, King of Syracuse from 270 to 216 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





20 · ZEUS
Coin of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus. c. 278 B. C.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



21 · ANTIOCHUS I
King of Syria from
281 to 262 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris

22 · ARSINOE II PHILADELPHUS, Wife of Ptolemy II, King of Egypt. 270 B. C.
Gold Octodrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



23 · PTOLEMY III EUERGETES I, King of Egypt from 246 to 222 B. C.
Gold Octodrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





24 · ARSINOE III PHILOPATOR, Wife of Ptolemy IV, King of Egypt from 222 to 204 B. C.
Gold Octodrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



25 · SELEUCUS I, King of Syria from 301 to 281
His portrait on a Coin of Philetaerus, King of Pergamum from 283 to 263 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

26 · PERSEUS, King of Macedon from 179 to 168 B. C.
Tetradrachm by Zoilus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





27 · PERSEUS, King of Macedon from 179 to 168 B. C.
Represented on the Macedonian Shield as the Hero Perseus
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

28 · CLEOMENES III, King of Sparta. 228 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





29 - MITHRIDATES II, King of Pontus from c. 256 to 190 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



30 · MITHRIDATES VI EUPATOR, King of Pontus from 121 to 63 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



31 · EUTHYDEMUS, King of Bactria. 215 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

32 · EUCRATIDES, King of Bactria from c. 175 to 129 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



33 · MITHRIDATES II, King of Parthia from c. 124 to 88 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





34 · TIGRANES, King of Armenia from c. 95 to 55 B. C.
Tetradrachm
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



35 · HERCULES

Regarded as a Portrait of Jugurtha
c. 63 to 62 B. C. *Denarius* of Faustus Cornelius Sulla
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



36 · C. COELIUS CALDUS
Consul, c. 62 B. C.
Denarius
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



37 · BRUTUS
c. 43 B. C. *Denarius*
of L. Servius Rufus
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris



39 · VERCINGETORIX (?)
c. 48 B. C. *Denarius* of L. Hostilius Saserna
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





40 . MARK ANTONY (Marcus Antonius)
c. 30 B. C. *Silver Coin* struck in Antioch
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



41 · CLEOPATRA

Silver Coin struck in Antioch. c. 30 B. C.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

42 · AUGUSTUS, Roman Emperor from 27 B. C. to A. D. 14
Aureus

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





43 · TIBERIUS, Roman Emperor from A. D. 14 to 37
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



44 · CALIGULA, Roman Emperor from A. D. 37 to 41
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



45 · NERO, Roman Emperor from A. D. 54 to 68

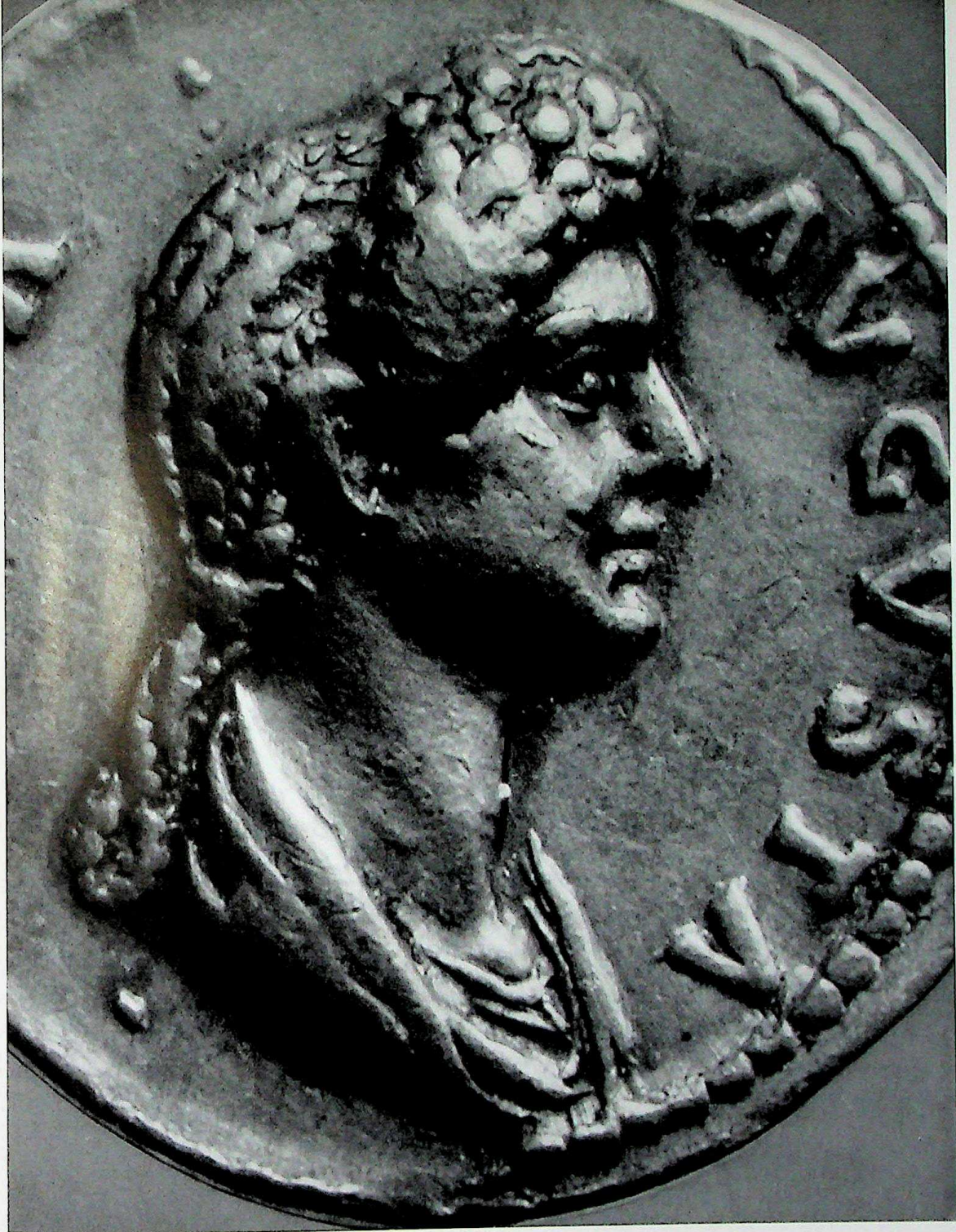
Aureus

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



46 · OTHO, Roman Emperor in A. D. 69
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





48 · JULIA, Daughter of Titus. A. D. 91
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



49 · TRAJAN, Roman Emperor from A. D. 98 to 117
Aureus

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



50 • PLOTINA, Wife of Trajan. A. D. 129
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



51 · MARCIANA, Sister of Trajan. A. D. 120
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



52 · HADRIAN
Roman Emperor from
A. D. 117 to 138
Aureus
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris



53 • ANTONINUS PIUS, Roman Emperor from A. D. 138 to 161
Bronze Medallion
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



54 · MARCUS AURELIUS, Roman Emperor from A. D. 161 to 180
Bronze Medallion
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



55 · SABINA, Wife of Hadrian. A. D. 137
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





57 · ALEXANDER SEVERUS, Roman Emperor from A. D. 222 to 235
Aureus
 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



58 · CARACALLA, Roman Emperor from A. D. 211 to 217
Aureus
 Münzkabinett, Vienna



59 · HELENA, first Wife of Constantius I Chlorus
Her Portrait on a Coin of Constantine the Great
Roman Emperor from A. D. 306 to 337
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



60 · PLAUTILLA, Wife of Caracalla. A. D. 212
Bronze Coin
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

61 · POSTUMUS, Ruler of Gaul from A. D. 258 to 268
Aureus struck at Trier
Trier Museum





62 · AURELIAN, Roman Emperor from A. D. 270 to 275
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



63 · TACITUS, Roman Emperor from A. D. 275 to 276
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

64 · PROBUS, Roman Emperor from A. D. 276 to 282
Bronze Coin
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris







66 · DIOCLETIAN, Roman Emperor from A. D. 284 to 305
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



67 · CONSTANTIUS I CHLORUS, Caesar from A. D. 293 to 305
Roman Emperor from A. D. 305 to 306
Gold Medallion from the Beaurains Treasure
Arras Museum



68 · MAXIMIAN, Roman Emperor with Diocletian
from A. D. 286 to 305
Gold Medallion
Arras Museum



69 · LICINIUS, Roman Emperor from A. D. 308 to 324
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

70 · DECENTIUS, Caesar from A. D. 351 to 353
Aureus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





71 • CONSTANTINE I
THE GREAT
Roman Emperor
from A. D. 306 to 337
Silver Medallion
of the Founding
of Constantinople
in A. D. 330
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris



72 · CONSTANTINE I
THE GREAT
Roman Emperor
from A. D. 306 to 337
Aureus
Trier Museum





73 · CONSTANS I
 Roman Emperor of the West from A. D. 337 to 350
Silver Medallion
 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

74 · CONSTANTINUS II
 Roman Emperor of the East from A. D. 337 to 361
Gold Solidus
 British Museum, London



75 · ANASTASIUS II, Roman Emperor of the East from A. D. 713 to 716
Gold Solidus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



76 · HERACLIUS I, Roman Emperor of the East from A. D. 610 to 641
and HERACLIUS CONSTANTINUS
Gold Solidus
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



77 · SHAPUR I, King of Persia from A. D. 241 to 272
Gold Coin
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



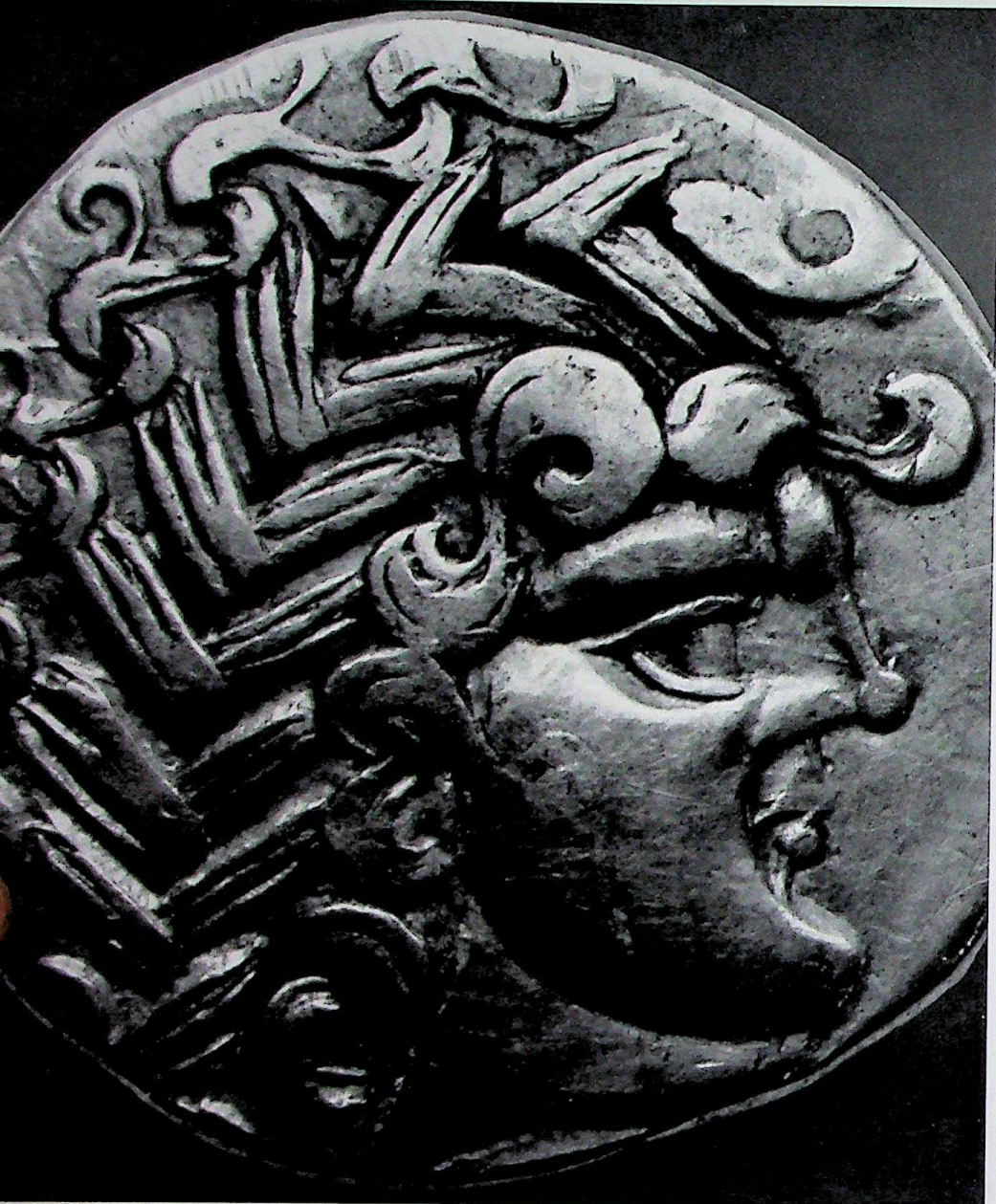
78 · PAK, King of Persia. 3rd Century A. D.
Silver Coin
British Museum, London



79 · ARDASHIR I, King of Persia from A. D. 226 to 241
Drachm
British Museum, London



80 · AKBAR
Mogul Emperor of India
from A. D. 1556 to 1605
Gold Coin
British Museum, London



81 · APOLLO
c. 1st Century B. C. *Gaulish Coin* of the Andecavi
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



82 · APOLLO
c. 1st Century B. C. *Gaulish Coin* of the Redones
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

83 · VERCINGETORIX
c. 52 B. C. *Electrum Stater*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





84 · THEODORIC, King of the Ostragoths from c. A. D. 471 to 526
Bronze Coin
British Museum, London



85 · DAGOBERT I, King of the Franks from A. D. 629 ? to 639
Gold Medallion
 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

86 · CHARLEMAGNE, King of the Franks from 768
 and Roman Emperor of the West from A. D. 800 to 814
Denier
 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



87 · CUNOBELIN (Cymbeline), British King, died c. A. D. 40
Copper Coin
British Museum, London



88 · EDWARD THE CONFESSOR
King of England from 1042 to 1066
Silver Penny
British Museum, London



89 · ALFRED, King of Wessex from 871 to 900
Silver Penny
British Museum, London





90 · WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR
King of England from 1066 to 1087
Silver Penny
British Museum, London



91 · HENRY III, King of England
from 1216 to 1272
Gold Penny
British Museum, London



92 · CHARLES I
(Charles of Anjou)
King of Naples and Sicily
from 1266 to 1285
Gold Real
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris



93 · JOHN VIII PALAEOLOGUS, Byzantine Emperor. 1439

Medal by Pisanello

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



94 · LEON BATTISTA ALBERTI
1404 to 1472. Self-Portrait
by the famous Architect,
Musician, Painter and Humanist. *Medal*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



95 · LIONELLO D'ESTE. 1443
Medal by Pisanello
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



96 · CECILIA
GONZAGA, c. 1447
Medal by Pisanello
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris

97 · GIAN FRANCESCO GONZAGA. 1444

Medal by Pisanello

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





98 · LORENZO DE' MEDICI. 1448 to 1492
Medal by Tanaglia
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



99 . COSIMO DE' MEDICI, Pater Patriae
1389 to 1464. *Medal*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

100 · FRANCESCO GONZAGA, Marquis of Mantua. 1480
Medal by Melioli
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





101 · FRANCESCO GONZAGA, Marquis of Mantua. 1495
Medal by Sperandio
commemorating the Battle of Fornovo
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



102 · SAVONAROLA
1495
*Medal by Luca
della Robbia*
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris



103 · FILIPPO MARIA VISCONTI, Duke of Milan. 1441
Medal by Pisanello
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



104 · FEDERIGO DA
MONTEFELTRO
Duke of Urbino. 1468
Medal by
Clemente da Urbino
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris



105 · ISOTTA DEGLI ATTÌ. 1457
Medal by Matteo de Pasti
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



106 · CARLO GRATI. 1485
Medal by Sperandio
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



107 · NONNINA
STROZZI. c. 1490
Medal by
Niccolò Fiorentino
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris

108 · SIGISMONDO
PANDOLFO
MALATESTA
Lord of Rimini. 1456
Medal by
Matteo de Pasti
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris





109 · ISABELLA
D'ESTE. 1510
*Medal by Gian
Cristoforo Romano*
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris

110 · GIULIA
ASTALLIA, 1504
Medal by
l'Antico
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris





109 · ISABELLA
D'ESTE. 1510
*Medal by Gian
Cristoforo Romano*
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris



110 · GIULIA
ASTALLIA. 1504
Medal by
L'Antico
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris

111 · RENE I (René of Anjou)
King of Naples and Sicily. 1461
Medal by Pietro da Milano
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





112 · JEANNE DE LAVAL,
second Wife of René I
Medal by Francesco Laurana
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



113 · LOUIS XI, King of France from 1461 to 1483
Medal by Francesco Laurana
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



115 · CHARLES VIII, King of France from 1483 to 1498
Medal by Niccolò Fiorentino
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





116 · SIXTUS IV, Pope from 1471 to 1484
Medal by Guazzalotti
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

117 · ALEXANDER VI, Pope from 1492 to 1503

Medal

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





118 · CARDINAL GIULIANO DELLA ROVERE. 1443 to 1513
(Pope Julius II from 1503). *Medal*
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





120 · CRISTOFORO MORO, Doge of Venice from 1462 to 1471
Medal by Antonio Veneziano
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





122 • EMMANUEL PHILIBERT, Duke of Savoy from 1472 to 1482

Gold Teston

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



123 · LEONORA CAMBI
1500
Medal by Bombarda
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris



124 · FERDINAND
THE CATHOLIC
King of Castile, Leon
and Aragon. 1452 to 1516
Gold Ducat
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris





126 · GRAZIA NAZI
Medal by Pastorino
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



127 · MARY STUART
(Mary Queen of Scots)
1542 to 1587
Medal by Primavera
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris



128 · MARY I
Queen of England from
1553 to 1558
Medal by
Jacopo da Trezzo
British Museum
London

129 · PHILIP II, King of Spain from 1556 to 1598

Medal by Jacopo da Trezzo
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



130 · MARIA OF
AUSTRIA
Wife of Maximilian II
1528 to 1603
Medal by Abondio
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris







132 · ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL, Wife of Charles V
Medal by Leone Leoni
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



133 • GIANELLO DELLA TORRE, Watchmaker to Charles V and Philip II
Medal by Jacopo da Trezzo
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

134 · ANDREA DORIA, Genoese Admiral. 1468 to 1560
Medal by Leone Leoni
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





135 · MICHELANGELO. 1475 to 1564
Medal by Leone Leoni
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



136 · ELEONORA
Duchess of Mantua. 1561
Medal by Pastorino
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris



135 · MICHELANGELO. 1475 to 1564
Medal by Leone Leoni
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



136 · ELEONORA
Duchess of Mantua. 1561
Medal by Pastorino
Bibliothèque Nationale
Paris

137 · PIETRO ARETINO. 1492 to 1556

Medal signed A. V.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





138 · MAXIMILIAN I, Holy Roman Emperor from 1493 to 1519
Medal by Hans Daucher
Münzkabinett, Vienna



139 · CHARLES V, Holy Roman Emperor. 1521
Medal by Reinhart after a drawing by Dürer
Münzkabinett, Munich

140 · JOHN FREDERICK I, Elector of Saxony from 1532 to 1547
Medal by Reinhart
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





141 · PETER VISCHER, Self-Portrait
Medal
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



142 · ALBRECHT DÜRER THE ELDER. 1514
Medal by Albrecht Dürer
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



143 · MARTIN LUTHER. 1521
Medal
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



144 · PHILIPP MELANCHTHON. 1543
Medal by Friedrich Hagenauer
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



145 · ANDREAS GENNISCH
Medal by Friedrich Hagenauer
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



146 · REGINA VON GREIFENSTEIN
Boxwood Medallion by Christoph Weiditz
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



147 · HIERONYMUS PAUMGARTNER
Medal by Joachim Deschler
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



148 · AN UNKNOWN MAN. c. 1550
Boxwood Medallion by Friedrich Hagenauer
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



149 · AN UNKNOWN MAN. c. 1550
Medal by Hans Daucher
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



150 · URSULA
VON SOLMS. c. 1550
*Medal by
Hans Bolsterer
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris*



151 · CHRISTOPH KRESS
Royal Adviser and Delegate at the forming of the Schmalkaldic League in 1530
Nuremberg, 1526. *Medal*
Münzkabinett, Munich



152 · HERNANDO CORTES. 1485 to 1547
Medal by Christoph Weiditz
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



153 · APOLLONIA BELTZINGER. 1530

Medal

Münzkabinett, Munich



154 · CHARLES THE BOLD, Duke of Burgundy from 1467 to 1477
Medal by Giovanni Candida
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



155 · NICOLAS
PERRENOT DE
GRANVELLE
Imperial Councillor
under Charles V
1486 to 1550
Medal by
Jean Second
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris

156 · ERASMUS
1466? to 1536
Medal by
Quinten Massys
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris





157 · CHARLOTTE DE BOURBON, third Wife of William the Silent. c. 1560
Medal by Conrad Bloc
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



158 · CARDINAL ANTOINE PERRENOT DE GRANVELLE, Statesman in the Service of
Charles V and Philip II 1517 to 1586
Medal by Jacob Jonghelinck
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



159 · JOHN KENDAL. 1484
Medal
British Museum, London

160 · HENRY VIII, King of England from 1509 to 1547
Medal by Steven van Herryck
British Museum, London





161 · EDWARD VI
King of England from 1547 to 1553
Plaque
British Museum, London



162 · ELIZABETH I, Queen of England from 1558 to 1603
Medal by Nicholas Hilliard
Struck after the Defeat of the Armada in 1588
British Museum, London



163 · LOUIS XII, King of France from 1498 to 1515
*Medallion by Nicolas Leclerc and Jean de Saint-Priest, cast by
Jean and Colin Lepère
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*



164 · ANNE OF BRITTANY
Reverse of No. 163

165 · HENRY II, King of France from 1547 to 1559
Medallion by Germain Pilon
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





166 · CATHERINE DE' MEDICI, Queen of France from 1547 to 1589
Medallion by Germain Pilon
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



167 · HENRY III
King of France from
1574 to 1589
Medallion by
Germain Pilon
Bibliothèque
Nationale, Paris

